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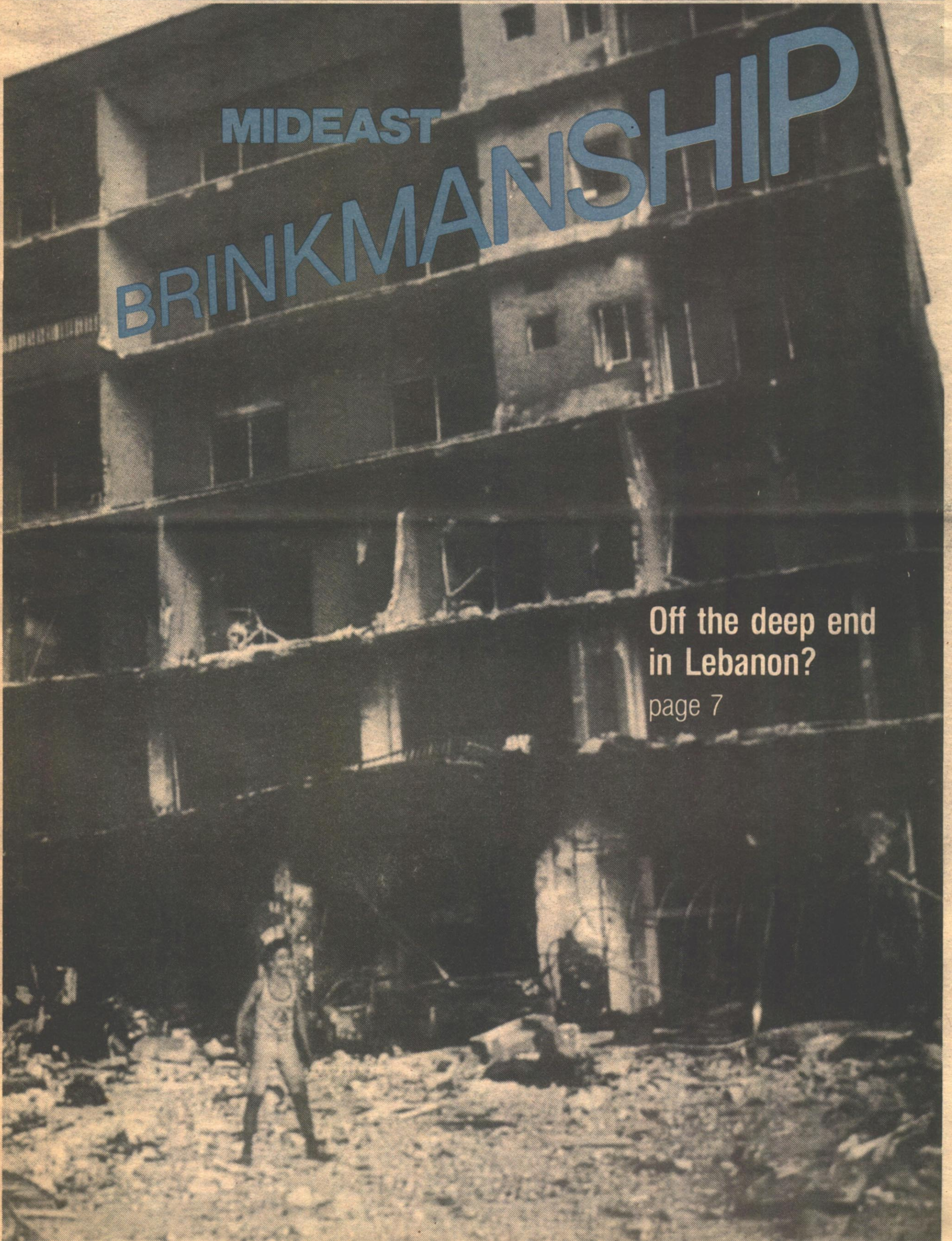
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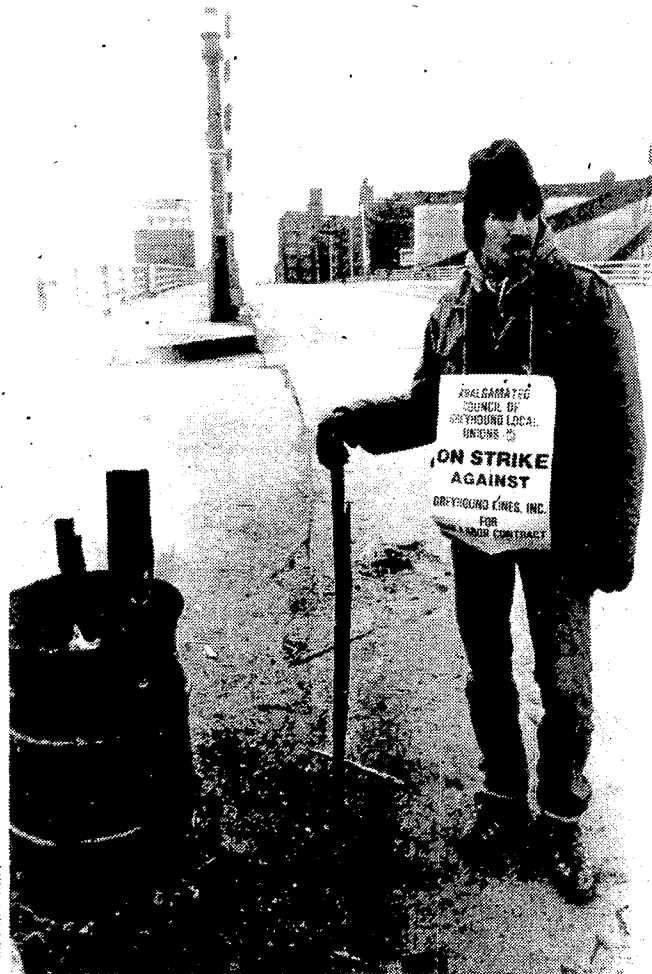
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THE INSIDE STORY



Besides traditional strike tools such as picket lines, unions need to foster cooperation among themselves and with non-union and unemployed workers.

Greyhound strike proves labor must start new offensive

By David Moberg

If the Greyhound strike is a harbinger of what the labor movement faces in the near future, there are two unseasonably grim lessons: big corporations are eager to use a larger, more varied arsenal of forces to defeat unions, and the unions must expand and reorient their own weaponry if they even want to hold the line.

John W. Teets, the blunt, aggressive chairman of Greyhound, chose the increasingly popular route of take-it-or-leave-it bargaining and an open attempt to run the company with strikebreakers when the union resisted. But he also was well-prepared with a huge public relations campaign that distorted the financial condition of the corporation—very profitable—and the bus line, which is marginally profitable even in a bad recession after years of a 12 to 18 percent return on investment.

He also created the image of the "dumb" (his words) bus driver who is overpaid at \$36,000 a year—even though the salary of those experienced, high-seniority bus drivers who work full time is really about \$27,000 (and \$6,000 to \$10,000 less for mechanics and clerks), the relevant figures for most people to compare with their own salaries.

The union no longer faces just a big bus company in a "lopsided duopoly" market. Greyhound now is a conglomerate embracing financial and food services and consumer products, all acquisitions financed with the profits created by the bus drivers, mechanics and clerks over the years. With the bus company presently producing less than 15 percent of the conglomerate's income and not a strong growth prospect, it is not devastating for Teets to absorb a long strike and even give the im-

pression that he could abandon the bus line altogether.

On top of that, Teets was able to invoke the new competitive pressures of a deregulated transportation industry. So far deregulation in the bus industry has brought a brief fare battle with Trailways (20 percent of the market, compared with Greyhound's 62 percent), but it also allowed Greyhound to drop 1,300 stops, boosting corporate profits even in this recession year.

With deregulation, small-town consumers, especially the poor and very young or old, have lost public transit and businesses lost a needed package service, but as Michael Redisch, an economist at the Interstate Commerce Commission who is completing a study of bus deregulation, observed, in transportation generally "the impact of deregulation has been more on labor than on firms" or even the consumer public.

Deregulation unleashes competitive forces to drive down wages and benefits. For years Greyhound paid more than Trailways but could afford to because it had a higher passenger load. Labor costs represented 47 percent of Greyhound revenue from 1981 through the first half of this year and 50 percent of Trailways' revenue. Soon Trailways bargaining will start. Its officials will undoubtedly demand equal or greater cuts from their employees. Where does it end?

Deregulation in the airlines has also added to the competitive pressures as non-union regional airlines cut into the 200-500 mile bus trip market.

As long as unemployment remains high—and 8.2 percent may be an improvement but it is still staggering—there are many desperate people willing to break strikes. Even if Greyhound could not quickly train new drivers adequately, it was scary and demoralizing for strikers to see hundreds of applicants lined up for their jobs. Also, because of its cutbacks in service, Greyhound had laid off 4,000 employees, providing itself a pool of trained potential strikebreakers. (Laid-off workers were sent letters saying they had to scab or they would be fired.)

"We had an idea this was coming," says David Mix, president of the San Francisco local and a member of the bargaining council. "But we were caught with our heads in the sand. We weren't prepared. We were a month behind in organizing." As a result, the union was ill-situated to get its message to the public or to maintain solidarity among its own ranks. In many cities, local unions and community groups joined picket lines and demonstrations, and the AFL-CIO called a boycott—in itself a largely symbolic move. The federation offered desperately needed public relations aid, since top Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) leaders were usually unwilling to talk to the press—further giving the field to Greyhound.

Despite the company's tactics, the union claims few members crossed the picket lines. Even with half-fare enticements, bus ridership was extremely low, especially where there were large, militant picket lines. Although union leaders worried about a back-to-work movement, 96 percent rejected the 21 percent concession proposal that followed the original 24 percent demand.

But within a few days after that vote was announced, union leaders negotiated a tentative contract that gave up 14 percent of the workers' wages and benefits, including the same 7.8 percent wage cut that had just been rejected. Union leaders were proud they had saved or improved some points, such as elimination of part-timers, protection of seniority of strikers, a union "successor" clause if Greyhound Lines is sold and elimination of split shifts. Nevertheless, under the proposed contract workers would pay 4 percent of their pension con-

tributions, which had been fully paid by the company, give up cost-of-living raises for two years and two holidays and reportedly pay more for less health coverage.

In bargaining council balloting weighted according to membership, the tentative contract got two-thirds approval, with at least a half-dozen big-city locals the most heavily opposed. "It's an absolute disaster," said Mix, who is one of the leaders pushing for rejection. "It's not that far removed from the original. [Union negotiators] just reached a point where they got scared. It just got to the question of whether we can endure a strike. But Greyhound is totally unjustified in what they're doing. It's not like Chrysler. It's a rape of the workers and the economy. Management feels responsible only to the stockholders. How about the investment workers have put in these companies? These people have put in their lives."

Reluctant support.

Even those who support the proposal do so reluctantly. "I'm not satisfied," said William Pearsall, vice-president of the Chicago local. "It's the best we could do. Times are rough out there. A lot of people are looking for jobs. With four million unemployed, I wouldn't settle for anything less than a raise."

Most observers predict a close vote, which will be announced December 20. When a scab driver at a company training school ran over and killed a picketing striker in Zanesville, Ohio, last week, the odds for contract rejection rose. Greyhound workers from around the country gathered for his funeral.

Could the union have done better? "This is just a continued development created by the concessionary environment that labor succumbed to," said Anthony Mazzocchi, coordinator of the Workers Policy Project. "It becomes extremely difficult for a single union to wage a struggle within that environment. We've got to start changing basic assumptions in how we deal with management, what we negotiate over, and we obviously have to move it into the political arena. We have to organize the unemployed, the unorganized and, before we do anything else, the organized."

Mazzocchi argues for "changing the rules" of bargaining, with unions demanding concessions from management and greater control. But even within the old framework, the union needed more planning and preparation in advance, drawing in the AFL-CIO—which should have more aggressively supported the union—and other unions before the contract expiration, he said. But, most important, the entire labor movement has to restore public solidarity. "You've got to change the way people think, their frame of reference," he said.

For several years Scott Molloy, president of the Rhode Island ATU local that represents mass transit workers, had developed ties with other unions and community groups and had promoted labor and political education among ATU members. As a result, during the strike there have been large, militant, effective picket lines in Providence with widespread participation—and numerous arrests. But that was rare. He admits the strike "underlines the problem of the labor movement that it is still isolated from a lot of America."

"Everybody's looking for a magic wand," he said. "It's not going to be there. It's going to take a whole lot of little, related things" to strengthen labor to withstand Greyhound-style attacks. But the Greyhound union council, he said, should have begun planning over a year ago and included a "corporate campaign" with the strike.

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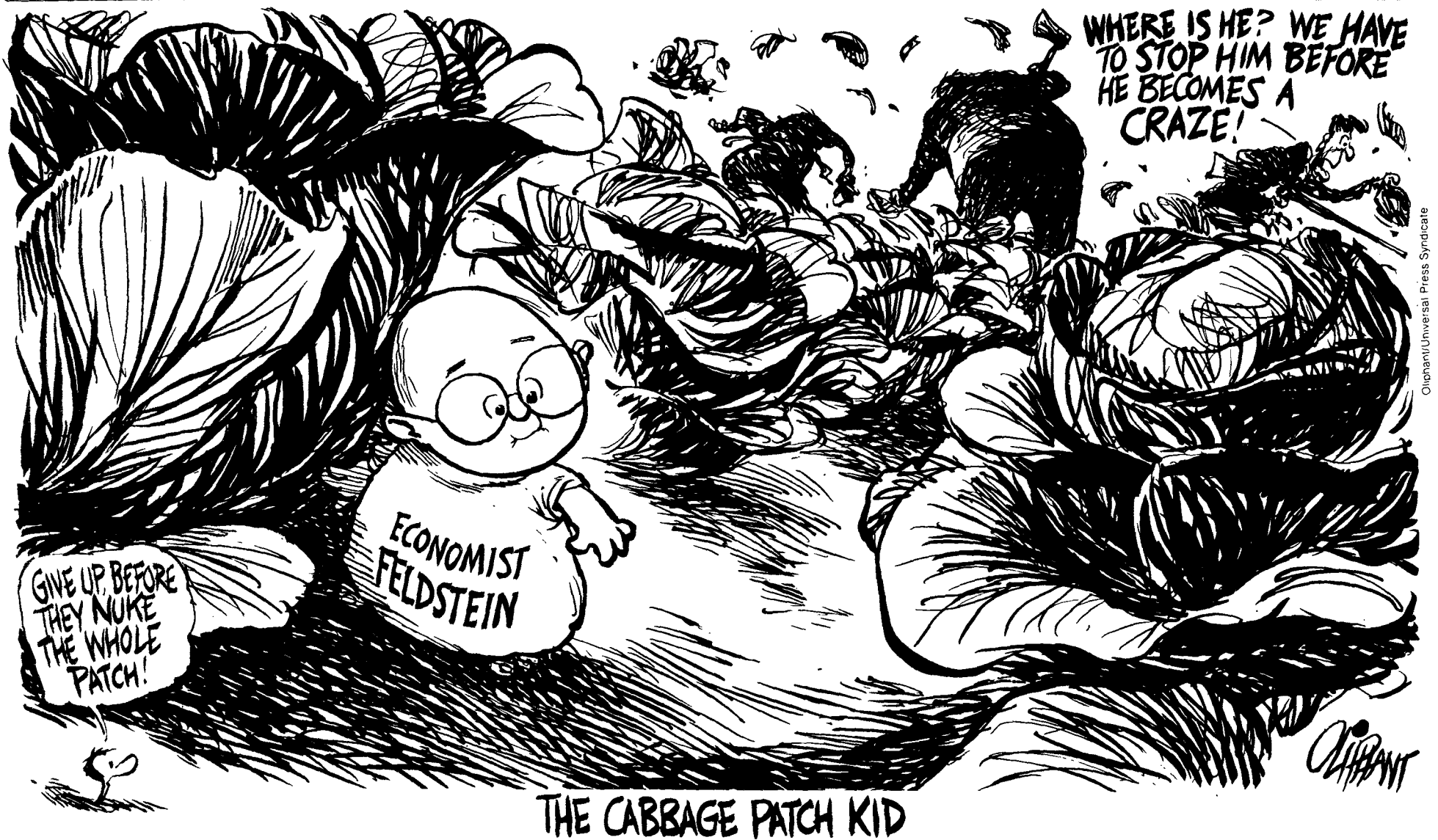
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IN THESE TIMES



THE CABBAGE PATCH KID

Issue of budget deficits brings up bigger questions

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

WHEN WHITE HOUSE spokesman Larry Speakes was instructed two weeks ago by his superiors to put distance between the White House and Martin Feldstein, the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors (CEA), he put an ocean between them. By repeatedly mispronouncing Feldstein's name, Speakes appeared to be suggesting that Feldstein, a Jew, would be better off supervising the economics of the *shetl* than the 50 states.

Speakes' gaffe may have saved Feldstein's job—President Reagan rebuked Speakes the next day—but it has only further widened the rift within the administration and between the administration and the business community. This was apparent last week at the annual Public Policy Week, sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), a conservative think tank in Washington.

At the AEI meeting, one speaker after another, including Feldstein himself, expressed qualms about the administration's economic policy.

Campaign politics.

The issue is the \$200 billion-plus annual deficit that the Reagan administration's economic program is expected to incur through the mid-'80s. President Reagan and his Secretary of the Treasury Donald Regan have argued that the only way to curb these deficits is through cuts in spending, which they claim Congress is unwilling to make, while Feldstein has argued that the most effective way to cut the deficits is through a tax increase. But the issue is more complicated than that.

Among the administration forces arrayed against Feldstein, there are two

different positions. The first, represented by the last supply-sider in the administration, the president himself, is that the recovery will itself reduce deficits, so that there is no need to worry about them. Others, like Regan and Chief of Staff James Baker, believe deficits will be harmful in the long run, but don't want to do anything about them in an election year for fear of slowing down the recovery and alienating the voters.

If Reagan is re-elected, administration economic officials will probably seek a line-item budget veto, which will allow the president to hack away at what remains of discretionary social spending, and some form of regressive consumption tax.

But in the meantime, administration officials have argued that if Congress increases taxes to reduce the deficit, it will use these funds to raise spending rather than cut deficits. In a November 29 speech, Regan claimed that when taxes are increased, "generally, about 30 cents on the dollar goes to deficit reduction, while the rest goes for more spending."

This argument appears to be a political ploy intended to delay discussion of tax increases until 1985 to focus public blame for the deficits on Congress rather than the Reagan administration.

Feldstein's rejoinder.

Feldstein, a Harvard University economist who took the job as CEA chairman after Murray Weidenbaum resigned last year, argues that deficits do matter and that the administration must reassure financial markets and the business community by reaffirming its commitment, made last January, to raise taxes in 1985 if the deficit has failed to decline. Feldstein is backed by Office of Management and Budget head David Stockman and also by Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker.

Feldstein does not believe the current

deficits will either cause inflation or prevent the recovery from continuing through 1984. He thinks inflation will be held down by Federal Reserve policy and that the tax benefits to business from the 1981 bill will neutralize the effect of continuing high interest rates on the recovery. But he believes that during the '80s continuing deficits will produce a "lopsided recovery" that will reward certain sectors and penalize others. Sectors that will be most damaged are important for the U.S.'s industrial future—housing and industries that either depend upon exports or are sensitive to import competition.

Feldstein assumes that the Federal Reserve will not meet the rising deficit by printing new money, but by forcing the Treasury to compete for funds in the private bond markets. This will keep interest rates high, as it already has during the first phase of the recovery. High interest rates will hold down housing construction (housing starts in the current recovery are already behind the average during the '70s recoveries) and penalize American exports and American industries sensitive to imports.

By attracting foreign capital to the U.S., high interest rates drive up the value of the dollar relative to other currencies. This causes the price of American goods to rise relative to the price of other countries' goods. During 1983, for example, with interest rates and the dollar's value high, the U.S. will have a

The implication of economic advisor Feldstein's speech was that the only way to reduce the deficit was to cut military spending or raise taxes.

\$30.5 billion deficit in manufactured goods, up from \$10 billion in 1982.

But what angered the administration was not Feldstein's insistence that deficits matter. In a string of speeches and CEA statements, Feldstein appeared to be taking aim at the assumptions by which the administration had justified its refusal to take action on the deficits.

Feldstein rejected the supply-side assumption that growth would reduce the deficit. "It would be unwise to assume that growth alone will reduce the deficit to an acceptable level." He took aim at Regan's argument that tax cuts could not reduce the deficit. "I know that there are those who fear that any rise in tax revenue would simply lead to more domestic government spending without any reduction in budget deficits. I believe that such a conclusion is wrong," Feldstein said.

And he released a set of figures showing that while domestic spending, minus Social Security and Medicare, will steadily decline as a percentage of gross national product (GNP) in the '80s, military spending will regularly increase as a share of GNP. Feldstein commented, "Although we have had these dramatic cuts in domestic spending, they are only enough to finance the defense increase, or the tax cut, but it is not enough to finance both."

While Feldstein refused to draw the final implications, it was clear he was saying the only way to reduce the deficit is to cut military spending or raise taxes.

Priorities vs. process.

Feldstein's position received almost unanimous support at AEI's annual meeting, from Lawrence Kudlow, the former chief economist for Reagan's OMB, to Charles Schultze, the chair of Carter's CEA and a John Glenn advisor. At AEI, the question was not whether to reduce the deficit, but how.

The support for Feldstein among those close to AEI is significant. AEI was founded in 1943 but reached its present heights in the '70s, when corporations decided to fund a conservative alternative to the liberal Brookings Institution. More than any other institution, it represents mainstream corporate thinking.

The majority position at AEI's Public Policy week was probably best stated by Herbert Stein, former CEA chair under both Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford

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INSHORT

Kicking the habit

One hundred fifty American and Canadian religious women on a peace pilgrimage to Honduras were denied entry into the country by the Honduran government December 5, Beth Maschinot reports. Forty-five of the women got as far as Honduras' Tegucigalpa airport before rifle-wielding soldiers boarded the plane and declared that only Honduran citizens would be allowed to disembark. U.S. Ambassador John Negroponte, who was an early U.S. liaison with Nicaraguan *contras* in Honduras, ignored the women's requests for help. Meanwhile, in New Orleans, another 95 women—*In These Times*' Maschinot among them—were prevented from boarding a plane to Tegucigalpa, even though they had already been issued tickets. At the Honduran consulate in New Orleans, Consul General Francisco Lopez-Reyes told the women they were kept out of Honduras because "Honduras is now keeping religious persons from entering the country—Catholic, Jews, Buddhists—all religious people." Honduran officials have reportedly termed the multi-denominational women "leftist extremists posing as nuns."

1199 battle continues

The battle for control over the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees—known as "1199"—escalated just before last week's convention got underway, David Moberg reports. (See *In These Times*, November 16). On November 30 Secretary-Treasurer Lenore Miller of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU) attempted to impose a temporary trusteeship on National 1199, an autonomous division of the larger union that RWDSU president Alvin Heaps wants to dismantle.

Miller asked Federal District Court Judge Leonard B. Sand to order the trusteeship, which had been requested on the grounds that 1199 had mismanaged its strike fund by loaning part of it to locals for organizing drives. But the judge threw out the case, charging RWDSU with "lack of good faith" for acting just before the convention, especially when RWDSU and complaining 1199 officers had long known about the loans.

There were reports that top AFL-CIO officials, who were already concerned about the conflict that threatens the fast-growing, majority-black union with an unsurpassed organizing victory record, were shocked and angry at the trusteeship maneuver. Although 1199 officers are still trying to work out arrangements to remain autonomous within RWDSU, if the fighting continues, it is expected to seek a separate AFL-CIO charter or simply leave the labor federation rather than lose its identity.

Landlords up the ante

In San Francisco, where rents, like cable cars, are climbing halfway to the stars, landlords get around the city's rent control laws by jacking up the rent when units become vacant. Supervisor Harry Britt has drafted an ordinance that would limit rent hikes on vacant apartments to 10 percent, and would also reduce the rent hike limit on occupied units from the full consumer price index—currently 7 percent—to 60 percent of it. Backed by organizations from Chinatown parishes to the local labor council, Britt's ordinance made it out of a Board of Supervisors committee December 2—before a standing-room-only crowd of 1,000—and should hit the full board for a vote January 9. To counter the ordinance's broad-based support—even middle-class neighborhood groups have backed it, according to Britt—landlords have hired the Bay Area's premier political operator, Clint Reilly, who managed the recent election campaigns of Mayor Diane Feinstein and U.S. Rep. Barbara Boxer. With ties to "all the money people in town," Britt predicts that Reilly will hold some sway with supervisors, six of whom must seek re-election next year. "If the vote were held today, we would win," Britt says, but he can't predict the success of Reilly's lobbying—right now ordinance opponents are pushing to split the rent limit reduction from vacancy controls.

Rock crushes feminists

Translating the gender gap into votes for Democrats is the party's best hope to recapture the Senate and presidency in 1984, and party leaders from National Committee Chair Charles Manatt to the presidential candidates have repeatedly promised to advance a feminist political agenda on every level. But the word apparently didn't reach Illinois party leaders. They alienated feminists nationally with their mid-November endorsement of anti-choice Senate candidate Phil Rock, who hopes to face Republican Sen. Charles Percy in the general election next November. The state party passed over feminists' choice, U.S. Rep. Paul Simon, who has a better record on women's issues. Nanette Falkenberg of the National Abortion Rights Action League predicts that a Rock nomination will force feminists and other pro-choice voters to back incumbent Percy, whose support for reproductive rights is well known. "If the state parties persist in nominating candidates who oppose freedom of choice and other issues important to women, there is no way the Democratic Party will emerge as beneficiary of the gender gap in 1984," Falkenberg warned.

—Joan Walsh



Nuclear freeze groups, echoing the Seneca Depot protesters pictured above, called for withdrawal of Cruise and Pershing II missiles from Europe at their annual convention.

Freeze widens its focus

ST. LOUIS—Widening their heretofore narrow political focus, more than 500 nuclear freeze backers at their annual convention December 2-4 voted to denounce superpower intervention in Central America, Afghanistan, the Mideast and the Caribbean. Regional proxy wars by the U.S. and the USSR are most likely to escalate into worldwide nuclear war, the convention concluded.

Frustrated by increasing superpower confrontation in the wake of U.S. deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe this month, the freeze campaign, which has so far relied heavily on lobbying and petitioning, will attempt to escalate its demands in the coming year with a series of nationally coordinated local actions, including vigils, rallies and sit-ins, on the first Friday of every month starting in March. These "Freeze Fridays" will have a yet-to-be determined common nationwide symbol and will build toward a national "Day of Concern" next October.

The "Day of Concern" will be similar to Vietnam-era moratorium days, with teach-ins in schools and churches and workplace demonstrations, discussions and possible labor stoppages. Its timing is designed to influence the 1984 elections by demonstrating vast public support for an end to the nuclear arms race.

While freeze-coordinated citizen action escalates next year, the campaign will lobby Congress to cut off funds for testing of nuclear warheads and testing and deployment of ballistic missiles. The new strategy marks a departure from the freeze campaign's former single focus on a comprehensive freeze, acknowledging the possibility of a partial freeze on testing and deployment as an immediate first step toward an overall halt to the arms race.

"The president could initiate an interim halt with a phone call," noted freeze activist Carla Johnston, who pointed out that President Kennedy used the same technique to start negotiations for an atmosphere test ban. The new freeze slogan will be, "First stop, then negotiate!" according to the campaign's new strategy

paper.

Parallel to the conference was a kick-off rally for the freeze campaign's political action committee (PAC) "Freeze Voter '84," which pledges to sign up one million pro-freeze voters in the coming year and to target congressional opponents of the freeze for defeat in 1984.

Although presidential candidate Alan Cranston addressed the conference, neither the campaign nor its PAC is expected to endorse any presidential candidate prior to next summer's nominating conventions.

—Michael Betzold

Labor coalition aims at Litton

WASHINGTON—Organized labor has set aside some traditional animosities to mount its first multi-union "corporate campaign." The target is Litton Industries, a \$4.7 billion-a-year conglomerate that is one of the nation's major defense contractors.

Unionists like to call Litton the J.P. Stevens of the '80s, harking back to the boycott and economic pressure campaign that forced that anti-union textile company to abandon decades of resistance to unions and sign a contract, its first, with the clothing and textile workers in 1980. As in the Stevens campaign, unionists are using a combination of shareholder resolutions, pressure on corporate board members, public protests and political organizing to force Litton to change its labor policies.

The Litton campaign is different, however, in several respects. The drive against Stevens focused on only the labor organizing issue. Against Litton, unionists say they will seek the broadest possible coalition. They want to work with environmentalists to challenge the company's record as a polluter and may collaborate with peace-oriented church activists concerned about weapons production. Unionists counted on church support for rallies and a shareholder resolution at the company's board meeting December 10 in Beverly Hills, Calif.

This campaign is also the first of its kind by a coalition of unions. Participants in the National Litton Campaign—formally launched last month—include two AFL-CIO divisions; two independent unions—the

Teamsters and United Electrical Workers (UE); and such AFL-CIO affiliated unions as the machinists, autoworkers, carpenters, steelworkers and the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE).

The campaign was actually initiated by UE. UE's concern grew out of a lengthy conflict in which organizers followed Litton's consumer microwave oven assembly operations to South Dakota from a unionized Minneapolis plant, organized the new factory in 1980, but failed to win a contract (*In These Times*, July 14, 1982). UE discovered that other unions had also encountered intense resistance from the company.

Litton will prove to be a more sophisticated foe than Stevens. The textile company was a natural for the role of anti-labor villain. It proudly proclaimed its intention to remain forever free of unions and was a frequent and flamboyant labor law violator.

Litton officials do not intend to play that part. They say that about 20 percent of employees are unionized and insist that they are not enemies of organized labor. "We're not denying that there have been [labor law violation] findings against Litton in the past. What we are saying is that they have been very, very few and minor in nature," said Litton spokesman Robert Knapp.

But in October the federal government's top labor law enforcer, National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) General Counsel William Lubbers, responded to union complaints by singling out Litton for special scrutiny as a possible problem company. His memo could set the stage for a groundbreaking examination of conglomerate labor practices.

It orders labor board staff members to watch for evidence that labor law violations by Litton subsidiaries are part of a concerted anti-union effort by the parent company. "The existence of affiliated companies with different corporate names and multifacility plants...creates the possibility that a [NLRB] regional office could be unaware" of similar violations by the company. Labor law enforcers need to take sterner action, he said, if they find that "a history of unfair labor practice conduct suggests a likelihood of recurrence or an extension of the instant unlawful conduct." —Steve Askin

By Jo Freeman

SAN DIEGO

MORE THAN 350 WOMEN state legislators from 46 states gathered here in the luxurious del Coronado Hotel December 1-4 to discuss the expanding role of women in politics and hear Vice-President George Bush and Democratic presidential aspirants Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) and Gary Hart (D-Colo.). Organized by the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) of the Eagleton Institute at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, the Forum for Women State Legislators was the largest meeting of elected women ever held. Another 350 non-legislators also attended, primarily politicians, representatives from organizations concerned with women's issues and corporations.

The Forum was an outgrowth of an invitation-only conference of 61 female legislators held by CAWP in 1982. So many other state legislators wrote CAWP asking why they had not been invited, that it decided to organize a meeting open to all 993 women currently serving.

An invitational conference had been held in 1972, a year after CAWP was founded. There were only 344 women holding state legislative offices then. But in the last decade, women have tripled their hold on such offices to more than 13 percent. While their numbers range from 28.5 percent in New Hampshire to 1.7 percent in Mississippi, every state has at least three women representatives, although four have none in their upper house. There are 62 black and seven Hispanic women state legislators.

Unlike the invitational conferences, state legislators had to pay their own way to the San Diego Forum. But not all had to dip into their own pockets. In many states the Republican Party paid all expenses of their legislators. In most states

public funds were used to send one or two representatives, usually chosen by a major party politician. Other women raised contributions locally and split the pool.

But all had their \$200 conference fee paid for by the Carnegie Foundation, which contributed a third of the \$300,000 raised for the Forum. The rest came largely from corporations, particularly American Express, whose Vice President Ida Schmertz was a founder of CAWP. Representatives of about 75 other corporations, most of whom work in their "governmental relations" departments, had to pay at least \$1,000 each to attend.

American Express made a big splash. It sponsored a lavish dinner for all 700 attending, including non-legislators, which featured live entertainment, a dance band, separate glasses for red and white wine, two entrees and six kinds of coffee. In addition, a production crew was available to film 70 Forum participants for the "Do You Know Me?" commercial.

Those who signed up for the filming were aided in writing their scripts as well as with their makeup. One who declined this help was Bella Abzug. Sitting in front of the camera, she smiled and said, "When I was a member of the U.S. Congress, I applied for an American Express card and was told I could not have one without my husband's signature. Martin told me he wouldn't sign—that I should fight. So we passed a law in Congress requiring equal credit for women. I still didn't know whether I should get a card, but I did so I could tell this story. So carry an American Express card as a symbol of women's right to equal credit."

Abzug was one of 11 women to be awarded \$100 prizes for their performance by the production crew. American Express disclaimed any intention of using these film clips as commercials and the participants did not sign releases. But they did supply their addresses so they could be contacted later.

Despite these distractions, participants focused their attention on 29 public policy workshops and several plenaries. The workshops were almost equally divided between issues that have arisen as a result of the women's movement, those traditionally identified as women's issues (i.e., health, education and children) and those of interest to all politicians (mostly money). Average attendance was lowest in the traditional fields and highest in those on money.

The workshops on comparable worth, however, had an attendance double that of any other. Women in many states have been urging that studies be done on pay inequities in government jobs dominated by one sex. The opportunities to share strategies that the workshops provided indicate that this movement is spreading.

Larger workshops focused on practical problems of the ambitious politician—campaign funds, press, leadership routes and organization. The most popular was that on "How to manage the press: Guidelines for legislators in need of help." But the legislators were less interested in getting advice from the three reporters on the panel than in telling the press what they thought of them.

Panelist Laurence Collins of the *Boston Globe* was particularly under fire for a story printed that day on a Massachusetts insurance company that had flown two representatives to San Diego to wine and dine the six legislators at the conference. They had rented a white Lincoln Continental and taken the women to the most elegant restaurant in San Diego—missing the even more elegant American Express dinner. "You know that you can't buy my vote with one dinner," one of the Massachusetts representatives protested.

Party identification.

Although the forum was billed as bipartisan, the importance of party identifica-

Continued on page 8

Bella Abzug (wearing hat) and other women political leaders pose at a swank dinner thrown by American Express in conjunction with a conference of women state legislators.

GENDER GAP



Women pols meet to talk money, talk shop, talk issues

FRANCE

Mitterrand: I am the president

By Diana Johnstone

ON THE EVENING OF NOVEMBER 16, President Francois Mitterrand had himself interviewed on French television's second chain, Antenne 2. The main message was that France's security depended on the visible determination of the president to use nuclear deterrence to defend the nation.

"The keystone of deterrence strategy in France," Mitterrand said, "*c'est le chef de l'etat, c'est moi*"—which sounds more elegant and has more historical echoes than "it's the head of state, it's me."

Referring to the Beirut truck bombing that killed 58 French soldiers on the morning of October 23 (just as an even more deadly attack was being made on U.S. Marines in Lebanon), Mitterrand solemnly warned that the "crime will not go unpunished."

No sooner said than done. The very next day, eight French Super-Etendard fighter bombers swooped down on an encampment near Baalbek of pro-Iranian Shi'ites belonging to the Islamic Amal group led by Hussein Moussawi, accused of organizing the October 23 truck bombing. Initial reports indicated that large numbers of presumed terrorists had been wiped out by this first major offensive move by the otherwise passive "peace force" in Lebanon. For all his laic humanism, once he was in the Mideast, Mitterrand seemed to be getting into the regional mood of Biblical retribution.

A few days later, the French press began to discover that the raid was a "fiasco." Was the raid a "punishment" or a "prevention"? Of what, for what, how? Contrary to early reports, the bombs had apparently caused little damage and few casualties. "Our objective," explained Defense Minister Charles Hernu, "was only to sanction terrorism, neither more nor less than was suitable."

On second thought, the Baalbek raid was perhaps no more than an aggressive poke at the hornets' nest of Islamic fundamentalism, which has grown enormously in the Baalbek region since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last year.

This is the way it looked to most Italians, uneasy about the safety of their own contingent in Lebanon. As luck would have it, Mitterrand arrived in Venice for a Franco-Italian summit shortly after the Baalbek raid. Conditioned by the more obsequious French press, Mitterrand responded to Italian journalists' insistent questioning with what seemed to the Italians to be snooty evasions. Why had the French government not even informed, much less consulted, the Italian government about the raid, despite the fact that



The October 23 truck bombing in Beirut that killed 58 French soldiers (above) was quickly retaliated with a French bomb raid.

Italy also has soldiers in the "international peace force" who could be victims of Islamic "reprisals" for the French "reprisals"? Mitterrand said he had to answer only to France. The U.S., however, had been informed.

The Baalbek raid poisoned the Venice summit. Prime Minister Bettino Craxi had been hoping to emerge strengthened by his close relationship to fellow-socialist Mitterrand. The Christian Democrats had a field day playing up the lack of communication between the two socialist leaders regarding the Baalbek raid.

When Craxi tried to smooth things over at the final joint press conference by saying that, after all, Italy might have reacted similarly had its soldiers been victims of an attack like that on the French force, he was contradicted by the Christian Democratic Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti who cited a precedent to prove that Italy would not react that way. Andreotti made no effort to conceal his anger with Mitterrand. In Italy's complex coalition politics, the Christian Democratic foreign minister is still a more powerful figure than the Socialist prime minister.

If Mitterrand could dispatch Super-Etendard jets to bomb presumed "terrorist headquarters" in Baalbek, he remain-

ed helpless before the demands of southwestern French farmers. Thus he is politically unable to respond to the entreaties of fellow socialists in Europe to speed up the entrance of Spain and Portugal into the Common Market. At the Venice summit, he reportedly avoided the big subjects of European unity raised by Craxi to try (in vain) to sell Italy a few more Airbus.

Some commentators pointed out that Mitterrand, like other heads of state before him, had discovered the limits of presidential power in economic and domestic political matters and was finding "compensation" in foreign and military policy. Writing in *Le Monde*, Olivier Duhamel noted that Mitterrand had been "gradually transformed" by the exercise of power, which revealed the "supreme importance of foreign policy as well as the great effectiveness, both symbolic and real, of military matters."

Do unto others...

By ordering the Baalbek raid, Mitterrand perhaps hoped to assuage the always potentially dangerous anger of the French officer corps, which found it humiliating to be bombed in Lebanon without bombing back. In addition, Mitterrand seemed to be following the advice of former presidential aide (under Pompidou) and right-wing "geopolitical" propagandist Marie-France Garaud, who has reminded him that in the top-heavy fifth republic, designed by De Gaulle for one-man rule, all that matters is the president and public opinion.

Mitterrand's "nuclear president" TV appearance followed by the Baalbek raid were apparently a big success with public opinion. Just as the British loved the Falklands war and Americans approved the Grenada invasion, the French, initially, at least, applauded the reprisal raid on Baalbek—or, to be more precise, the media applauded and then told the people they were applauding too.

Le Matin commented that "the fatherly tone of the one who commands and protects" used by Mitterrand on TV "seems to be better adapted to French public opinion...than the professorial tone of a Giscard or even of a [Raymond] Barre." The fact that the right-wing opposition approved confirmed that "the broadcast was a communications

success," the newspaper said.

The right is singing a siren song in Mitterrand's ear. It goes like this: by using the media to build up his protective father image, a president can be vastly more popular than the political parties that supported his election. Thus by casting loose from left-wing parties and building his own personal following around national security, Mitterrand can hope to survive the probable defeat of the left-wing parties in the 1986 parliamentary elections.

Meanwhile, his "communications success" is built on propaganda illusions that make him potentially vulnerable to an eventual media debunking in favor of some other political force. It is highly unlikely that the Baalbek raid "punished the guilty" for the October 23 bombing or dissuaded further acts of terrorism.

The real results are not so much military as political. France has made its small contribution to generalizing the practice—developed first by Israel and South Africa, recently taken up by the U.S. in Grenada—of making "reprisal" or "preventive" raids against presumed "terrorist bases" in other countries. This is the excuse that can be used to extend U.S. intervention farther into the Mideast and the Gulf area. The "fight against international terrorism" is the perfect pretext for the Reagan administration to assert its authority on "any part of the earth."

But to carry out the assertion of imperial power in the parts of the world that produce Europe's oil supplies (and thus ensure corporate America's ongoing control of Europe, in the view of America's right-wing strategists), there is a political, even more than a military, need for the U.S.'s European allies to take part.

Eliot A. Cohen explained it this way a year ago in *Foreign Affairs*. It will, he wrote, "be politically difficult to use the RDF [Rapid Deployment Force] without one of two European responses. Either sizable European forces must join the RDF and fight alongside it...or the European powers must substantially relieve

Commentators pointed out that Mitterrand, like heads of state before him, had discovered the limits of power in economic and domestic political matters and is finding some compensation in military policy.

American forces on their own front. True enough, American intervention in the Persian Gulf would serve the American national interest whether or not European soldiers fought side by side with American troops. Such excessively rational calculations, however, would not convince the American public that their sons, husbands and brothers should die to keep French, Dutch, German and Japanese homes warm and factories running.

By dying along with Americans, the French soldiers in Lebanon helped make it politically possible to keep the U.S. in the region—in pursuit of a policy that has not been spelled out clearly to anyone. If the Baalbek raid is an indication, the "peacekeeping mission" may yet be transformed into a "war against international terrorism."

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MIDEAST

By Dilip Hiro

L O N D O N

THE U.S. AND ISRAEL ARE OUT to humble Syria—by war, if need be. They have decided to mount a series of bombing raids on Syrian-supported and Syrian positions in Lebanon. Within a day of his return to Israel from Washington, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir ordered one such mission. It knocked out a Syrian radar station along Beirut's Damascus road and prepared the way for a subsequent raid by 28 U.S. war planes on Syrian positions in the Shuf mountains, during which they used anti-personnel bombs.

This was a result of the secret deal worked out by Shamir and Reagan during Shamir's recent visit to Washington—a deal that was soon leaked to a select coterie of journalists by administration officials in a barely disguised attempt to intimidate Syria.

In return for undertaking this task for the U.S., Israel has already received ample rewards: conversion of American loans to Israel into grants; a committee to work out details of treating Israel as a free trade area by the U.S.; a new strategic cooperation committee to plan storing American weapons and medical supplies in Israel and conducting joint naval and air exercises in the eastern Mediterranean. (See *In These Times*, Dec. 7.)

The U.S.-Israeli deal is being trumpeted as a victory for George Shultz, Robert McFarlane and James Baker over Casper Weinberger, William Casey and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It is a victory of politicians, tuned to the needs of Reagan's forthcoming election campaign, over technocrats.

In reality, however, it fits in well with the Reagan administration's overall view of the Soviet Union as an "Evil force to be combatted," and its propensity to treat regional conflicts in strategic terms of East-West confrontation. Such thinking leads to a routine description of the Syrian regime as a puppet of the Soviets—to be overthrown (ideally) or to be derided and humbled (at the very least).

But it does not change a basic fact of Mideastern life: Syria is the key country in the region; and its president, Hafez Assad, has Syrian interests—and these only—at heart.

Syria's strategic importance is underlined by geography. It shares borders with Jordan, Iraq, Turkey, Lebanon and Israel. Historically, Syria has dominated the Arab heartland since the rise of Islam in the seventh century. It is currently ruled by Assad, a politician who has few rivals in shrewd toughness in the region. It has a standing army of a quarter-million that can be trebled in an emergency. And its military is equipped with sophisticated Soviet weaponry.

Oddly enough, the Israeli and American actions of the past few years have inadvertently boosted Syria's importance. Once the U.S. and Israel had weaned Egypt away from the Arab League by offering it a bilateral peace treaty with Is-



'ONE... TWO... OK, WHERE'S SYRIA?'

U.S.-Israel actions have molded Syria into Arab power

rael in March 1979, Syria's standing in the Arab world rose sharply. As the only large, front-line Arab state facing Israel, Syria became the recipient of generous financial aid from the oil-rich Gulf states. With these funds, Syria could afford the most expensive weapons from the Soviet arsenal.

But for Israel's expulsion of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) from Beirut in August 1982, Assad's long-held objective of controlling the PLO would have remained out of reach. The PLO was available as an independent entity only as long as it could function as a state within a state. In the late '60s it did so in Jordan. After the Jordanian civil war of September 1970, it found a base in Lebanon, a country with a traditionally weak government.

Having lost its headquarters in Beirut for its various activities—ranging from running schools to maintaining an army—the PLO became a target for take-over by an Arab state. With Egypt out of the Arab League, the only other countries capable of providing shelter and direction to the PLO were Jordan and Syria. Given the lingering bitterness among Palestinian ranks about the Black September in 1970, Jordan was not a serious possibil-

ity. That left Syria.

Syria had other advantages over Jordan. With the PLO's departure from Beirut, its civilian apparatus disappeared and its military wing became all powerful. Since three-fifths of the 11,000 Palestinian fighters evacuated from Beirut opted for Syria, and since many of those sent to other Arab countries gravitated to Syria, and since the Assad regime was the main source of arms for the PLO, Damascus soon replaced Beirut as the hub of Palestinian politics.

By securing the expulsion of Yasir Arafat and his forces from Tripoli, with the active support of anti-Arafat Palestinian fighters, Assad has added one more notch to his power in the Arab world. With this, he can not only claim to hold the key to peace in Lebanon, but also to settlement of the Palestinian problem.

The Syrian leaders see the present development as logical, both historically and geographically. They know how in 1920 the French created the artificial state of Greater Lebanon by adding to the tiny Christian district of Lebanon, Muslim areas to its north, east and south, thus trebling its area and doubling its population. Not surprisingly, Syria's acceptance of Lebanon as an independent republic

fell short of full recognition. Syria refused to open an embassy in Beirut. Lebanon reciprocated. The situation is indicative of the special relationship that exists between the two neighbors, with Syria acting as the Big Sister. For instance, President Elias Sarkis, who ruled Lebanon from 1976 to 1982, was a Syrian nominee.

Little wonder then that Assad found it hard to recognize Amin Gemayel or his brother Bashir—nominees of Israel and the U.S.—as the new president of Lebanon. But in the end he did. He was expected by Washington and Tel Aviv to accept the Lebanese-Israeli agreement of May 1983—a handiwork of the U.S. which kept Syria out of the negotiations.

Assad objects to the May 1983 pact. He cannot allow joint Lebanese-Israeli patrols in south and east Lebanon which extend to the Syrian border. And he refuses to put Syrian forces in Lebanon on par with the Israeli troops when it comes to the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon. The Syrian troops, he argues, entered Lebanon as part of the Arab peacekeeping force provided by the Arab League and requested by the then Lebanese government. Israeli forces marched into Lebanon as an army of aggression.

But argument counts for little in today's Mideast. And Assad knows it. That is why he signed a 20-year Friendship and Cooperation Treaty with Moscow in October 1980. The treaty stipulates mutual consultation "in the event of a situation jeopardizing the peace and security of either party."

That is why a year later the Syrian and Soviet navies conducted joint exercises along the beaches between Baniyas and Tartus. The Soviets have stockpiled weapons.

Continued on page 8

JERUSALEM—At the end of the 1982 Lebanese war, Amin Gemayel's government increasingly distanced itself from its former Israeli patrons, who had underestimated even these rightist Christians' long-term dependence on their ties with the Arab world. This in turn meant some kind of understanding with Syria. Damascus was thus able effectively to veto the May 1983 pact between Israel and Gemayel before the ink was dry.

Around that time, Israel made a final attempt to provoke a confrontation with Syria—to force it out of Lebanon. The two armies faced each other in the Bekaa Valley on high alert for several weeks. But lacking the necessary support for such a move from what it saw as a weak-willed government in Beirut and a naive administration in Washington, Israel eventually backed off.

Thus, after a year in Lebanon, Israel essentially returned to its pre-1981 policy. Dreams of a united, Christian Leb-

Where Israel fears to tread

anon in alliance with the Jewish state were abandoned and Israel accepted a *de facto* partition between a patchwork of ethno-religious regions in Syrian and Israeli spheres of influence. Israeli leaders eagerly sought to withdraw most of their ground troops, looking to expand the Sa'ad Haddad militia that policed the border region between 1978 and 1982.

But a funny thing happened on the way to Israel's retrenchment along the pre-war lines. The U.S. established its own military presence in Lebanon, ostensibly as part of a multinational peace-keeping unit. Before long, the declared aim of supporting the coun-

try's "legitimate government" came to mean taking sides in the continuing civil war, against the various forces opposing the Lebanese right.

The U.S. Marines and Navy became increasingly committed to propping up Gemayel. By late summer, the Reagan administration was begging Israel not to withdraw from central Lebanon. But at least partial pullback could be put off no longer.

The ensuing renewal of civil war further weakened Gemayel, leaving Syria poised to reassert and even enhance its influence over Lebanon. And Israel was quite willing to accept such an outcome—it even helped the forces of Syrian ally, Walid Jumblat, consolidate their hold in the area it abandoned—as long as Damascus would more or less agree to stay out of the south and perhaps restrain the Palestinians.

But considering the increased American commitment to Gemayel, and given

the Reagan administration's views on dealing with Soviet allies, the U.S. saw Syrian gains as a direct challenge. The suicide bombing raids in October, whether or not Syria was expressly involved, provided a convenient excuse to move. Waiting for (and probably encouraging) France and Israel to bomb first allowed Reagan to assess world reaction to the contemplated new aggressiveness.

The official American justification for its December bombing raid—that missiles were fired at reconnaissance planes the day before—was even weaker than the reasons given in the past for Israeli retaliatory sorties, which until this year were officially frowned upon and sometimes condemned by Washington. Thus, Israel's leaders are pleased by the latest developments. And if the U.S. really does try to follow through and push Syria out of Lebanon, Israel can be counted on to cheer, but mostly from the sidelines.

—David Mandel

Mideast

Continued from page 7

pons at Syrian ports and airfields. These stocks include at least 1,000 tanks, enough to arm 75,000 combat troops. Since Syria's weapons are almost exclusively Soviet-made, the two forces would have little difficulty in coordinating their operations on the battlefield.

Even when there was no formal treaty between Syria and the USSR, Moscow offered its troops to aid the Syrians in their fight against Israel. This happened during the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war. Two days after the ceasefire, Mustafa Tlas, Syrian defense minister, told a Kuwait-based newspaper that the Kremlin had been prepared to send 55,000 Soviet soldiers to fight alongside the Syrians during the war.

In an interview with a Beirut-based weekly on November 18, the same Tlas discussed the possibility of attacks on Syria by the U.S. and Israel. "When the Americans attack us, we will respond with all suitable means," he said. "We have pilots who are ready to launch suicide missions over American warships."

Tlas confirmed that the Syrian military has Soviet-made, ground-to-ground missiles with a range of 180 miles, which could strike deep into Israel. "Let the Israelis attack Damascus. They will see what happens to Tel Aviv," he said. "We have missiles that can strike anywhere in Israel and every stone in the Negev." Israeli nuclear installations are located at Dimonia in the Negev desert.

A week later Novosti press agency in Moscow distributed an article by Pavel Demchenko, a Soviet specialist on the Mideast. "Damascus is an ally of Moscow," he wrote. "They have a treaty of friendship and cooperation. Hence, Syria—which enjoys all-round support of the USSR—cannot regard itself alone in any situation. Aggression against Syria is an extremely dangerous venture."

At a press conference in Moscow on December 5, Soviet spokesman Leonid Zamyatyn condemned the American air attacks on "the Lebanese national and patriotic forces and Syrians," and America's "aggressive intervention" in Lebanon. "Our support and sympathy are wholly on the side of the Arab peoples," he said.

The Syrian and Soviet statements have been made partly to ward off military actions by Israel and the U.S. But what happens now that the U.S. has gone ahead with bombing raids? Three possibilities exist: the superpowers escalate the conflict to a global war; one or the other party backs down (a repetition of the Cuban missile crisis of 1963); the superpowers agree to talk (a replay of what happened

during the October 1973 war). The first possibility, with its inherent threat of nuclear holocaust, is unthinkable. The second is unlikely: the USSR is no longer militarily inferior to the U.S., as it was in 1963, and the U.S. will certainly not back down.

So that leaves the third possibility: a reconvening of an international conference on the Mideast, co-chaired by the U.S. and the USSR—with all the parties to the dispute participating—to hammer out a comprehensive peace settlement concerning the Palestinians, the Lebanese, the Israelis and Syria's Golan Heights.

The Syrian and Soviet statements were warnings against further escalations of military action by Israel and the U.S. But what if the two countries persist in these tactics and the conflict draws in the USSR? What then?

Dilip Hiro's latest book is *Inside the Middle East* (McGraw-Hill).

Deficit

Continued from page 3

and the editor of *The AEI Economist*. Stein argued the problem of deficits required an assessment of national priorities. He listed four possible priorities for economic policy:

- increasing military strength
- assistance for the very poor
- provision of growth by investment
- maintaining the consumption of ordinary Americans

Stein said that he gave the highest priority to the first three and the lowest to the fourth. He maintained that the way to reduce the deficit was to increase taxes on the income of average Americans.

According to Stein, military spending must be increased because the U.S. "is threatened." And he dismissed any significant reductions in social spending. "We've had three years of 'paving waste, fraud and abuse,' and we should accept the fact that there isn't a whole lot left."

The only support for the administration's position came indirectly from William Niskanen, a CEA member. He argued that to reduce deficits one had to change fiscal processes, not merely priorities. "We have to put in place processes that will survive a change in administrations," Niskanen said.

He advocated the line-item veto, which would allow the president to veto single items in the budget without vetoing the entire budget submitted by Congress, and the balanced budget amendment to the Constitution.

Schultze was the token Democrat at the panel discussion on the economy. While agreeing with Feldstein's view of deficits, Schultze resisted being the only panelist to call for reductions in projected military spending.

Instead, Schultze confined himself to warning that if deficits were allowed to mount and if, as a result, the industrial core of the nation, which is vulnerable to imports, declines, policymakers will face "protectionist pressures" and the call for an "industrial policy," both of which Schultze opposes.

Democratic dilemmas.

Some Democrats, including the House Democratic Caucus, have proposed that Democrats make budget deficits the major issue in the 1984 campaign. But except for centrists like Schultze and Glenn, the issue creates as many problems as it might solve.

If the Democrats attack the Reagan administration for causing the deficits, they must pose some solution of their own. The obvious one is to reduce military spending, but in the wake of the Grenada invasion and the Beirut bombing, many Democrats have become reluctant to buck Americans' renewed enthusiasm for their military.

To single out military spending for reduction, and not merely a reduction in its projected rate of growth (as Glenn and Walter Mondale do), one must also propose an alternative foreign policy to that followed by the Reagan administration, which few Democrats appear prepared to do.

The other possible solution for deficits is to raise taxes. Democrats have shown little enthusiasm for Republican proposals for a regressive flat rate tax or for a tax surcharge, but they have not developed a progressive tax increase proposal that could be used in the 1984 campaign. As Missouri candidates told the House Democratic Caucus representatives who met with them in St. Louis, complicated tax reform doesn't fly very well in campaigns.

But there is a deeper problem with deficits as an issue. The deficits debate has occurred within the given framework of an economy that is no longer capable of producing full employment without inflation. Schultze and AEI's Rudolph Penner, who was recently appointed director of the Congressional Budget Office, now define "high employment" (they no longer use the term "full employment") as 6 percent, which just a decade ago was regarded as recession-level unemployment.

Those who now argue for reducing the budget deficit are in fact arguing for slowing down the present recovery. Either raising taxes or cutting spending (including military spending) will reduce consumer demand, which will slow industrial expansion. As all the economists at the AEI panels admitted, the deficit is a short-term economic stimulus.

The argument over the deficit is between those who advocate slowing the present recovery, in which unemployment is still at 9 percent, in order to prevent the

long-term erosion of our economy, and those who want to ride the current wobbly recovery and worry about the consequences later.

This is the problem: the cause of the fiscal dilemma posed by high deficits is not fiscal policy. In the '30s, economists finally acknowledged that the capitalism of the U.S. and Europe had reached the point where, left to their own devices, they would plunge into deeper and deeper depressions.

In the '80s, economists are slowly realizing that the Keynesian/monetarist/supply-side economy of the post-World War II era, left to its own devices, is sliding into a downward cycle of deeper recessions and aborted recoveries.

High deficits and interest rates are effects, not causes of this decline. They are the result of the government and economy trying to sustain levels of social and military spending in the context of a private sector that is no longer capable of generating sufficient jobs and income to meet these commitments.

In this sense, it doesn't matter what happens to Martin Feldstein.

Women

Continued from page 5

tion for all politicians was impossible to ignore. Party activity and loyalty was frequently touted as one of the primary routes to leadership. The greater role the Republican Party plays in recruiting women to run and in providing them with funds was also apparent even though only 40 percent of all women state legislators are Republicans.

Nonetheless, most of the grumbling in the ranks of forum participants was by the roughly 150 Republican women. The conservative women complained in the final wrap-up session that the speakers were liberals—for example, they all supported ERA and women working. "The fact that only 11 percent of all children have one parent in the workforce and the other at home should be a cause for national alarm," state Utah Republican Sen. Dona Wayment.

Republicans supporting the ERA complained that their party's lack of support for it and other women's issues left them in the cold. At a breakfast sponsored by the Republican National Committee (RNC), about two-thirds of the Republicans attending the forum directed their frustration at presidential assistant Robert Carleson after he gave what many felt was a boring lecture on the administration's accomplishments that ignored women's issues.

That afternoon at a Republican caucus, several legislators further complained that past telegrams and letters sent to President Reagan had gone unanswered

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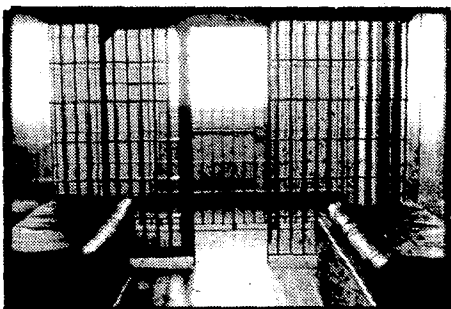
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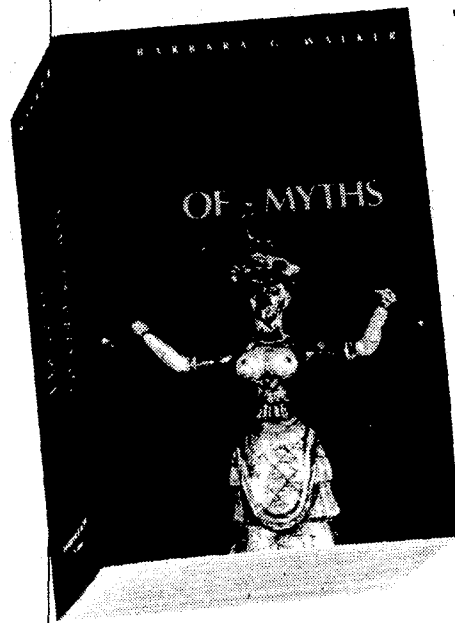
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1945—HUAC begins an investigation of seven radio commentators. HUAC spokesperson: "The time has come to determine how far you can go with free speech."

1968—At an RMN victory party, advance man J. Roy Goodearle: "Why don't we get all the members of the press and beat them up? I'm tired of being nice to them."

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and that he had declined to reappoint moderate Mary Louise Smith to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. "We have been left at the back of the bus by Reagan," stated Maryland delegate Connie Morrell.

Many urged that the Republican Party require that half of all delegates to their National Convention be women, as the Democrats do. But when asked if they would be delegates at next summer's nominating convention, the liberal Republican women said it would be futile to run, and they didn't expect to be appointed by their party leadership.

RNC Co-chair Betty Heitman greeted these complaints with dismay. While she defended the administration's record, she said that there has clearly been inadequate communication with liberal Republican women. Maine Congresswoman Olympia Snowe said she met with White House representatives once a week and would communicate their sentiments.

When the gender gap between women's and men's attitudes toward the administration was attributed to its lack of support for the ERA that night by moderate Republican Jill Ruckelshaus, the speaker at the well-attended American Express dinner, several Republican legislators walked out.

But others were more upset that the speaker coming the following night, Vice President Bush, had forbidden questions from the floor. They circulated petitions asking that questions be permitted, which were signed by more than 100 legislators.

After he was presented with these at a reception closed to the press, Bush relented and agreed to take questions from the floor. He kept his promise, but none of the floor microphones worked, so most participants and the TV equipment could not pick up the questions, only the answers. Rumors that the mikes had been cut off as a prerequisite by Bush to opening up the floor were roundly denied. ■

Jo Freeman, editor of Social Movements of the Sixties and Seventies, is now a lawyer in Washington.

Labor

Continued from page 2

Ray Rogers, who developed such a campaign in fighting textile giant J.P. Stevens, said, "It's unfortunate when workers think their only power is to withhold their labor or to demonstrate. You've got to take on the network of financial support for the company." Workers and their supporters could have demonstrated at the headquarters of U.S. Trust Company or Metropolitan Life, major creditors, or the Putnam Management Company, a major stockholder, he said. Individuals and unions could withdraw deposits, threaten to cancel pension management contracts or divest stockholdings as ways of pressuring the financial backers of the company. A conglomerate like Greyhound also has many highly visible consumer products that could be boycotted.

"I would never get into a strike situation or hard-nosed negotiation without knowing exactly what I'm up against—their strengths and weaknesses," Rogers said. "Every union research department should analyze corporate power relationships as well as industry trends." A central computer bank on union investments, insurance policies and bank deposits would facilitate cooperation.

Finally, he said, "Whenever they're asking workers for concessions, unions have to ask banks, stockholders and others for concessions as well. When a company is in trouble bankers always raise interest rates rather than lower them and workers are asked to take wage cuts."

Stanley Aronowitz, professor at City University of New York, believes that despite the concessions, ATU leaders were probably guided by a primary concern to "save the union. The strike had the appearance of an economic issue, but in fact Greyhound wanted subordination, for workers to give up their solidarity. The victory is survival, and I think Grey-

hound had something else in mind."

But the unions need to mount a massive campaign to reinstitute regulation or nationalize the passenger transportation industry, Aronowitz said, in order to take labor out of competition. A coalition of airline unions has begun pressing for renewed regulation of that industry.

Reaganism, unemployment, union concessions, deregulation, conglomerate mergers and divestitures all contribute to the climate that makes concerted management attacks on unions successful as union solidarity is threatened and public support is weak. Lacking a magic wand, labor has no choice but greater cooperation among unions in the U.S. and across borders, more broad-scale and well-planned initiatives against management, demands for greater labor control of both the workplace and corporations as well as public control of the economy, broader organization of workers—working or not, in unions or not, and the formation of more and stronger alliances.

Above all, labor must mount a political and intellectual offensive that justifies labor's demands and builds solidarity. That will take sweeping changes within labor, not simply good public relations or a Mondale victory. Is the labor movement ready and able? More 'Hound attacks are the alternative. ■

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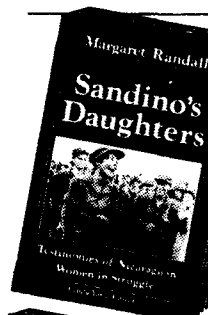
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LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

TWO MORE YEARS

WE ARE RENEWING—FOR TWO years this time. The money for the second year is money I would have used to renew my subscription to *Ms.* had I not felt over the past couple of years that they were becoming part of the problem with their "woman executive" slant. As a working woman with no ambitions to become management, I find your articles and viewpoints more useful to me than theirs, certainly now.

Thank you for the article on Edward James Olmos and Gregorio Cortez (*ITT*, Oct. 26). Your article and one in *Mother Jones* were largely responsible for my going to see it. I found it to have one of the more plausible treatments of prejudice that I have seen on film, i.e., the projection of one's resentment at one's own inadequacies (re success, education, mistakes one has made) upon the stranger. An interesting and thought-provoking film.

—Margaret Weller and Conrad Hodson
Eugene, Ore.

KENNEDY FROM CUBA

ESPECIALLY LIKED YOUR NOV. 16 ISSUE, including Eric Leif Davin's and Antia Alverio's article about the day Kennedy was shot, for which the authors questioned people about their reactions on that day.

But it would have been good to include an American residing in Cuba at that time, instead of just one of the founders of the Fair-Play-for-Cuba committee (because Oswald was said to be a member). As one of those Americans, here is my unsolicited contribution:

A friend phoned me to tell me. After initial incredulity, when we knew it was true, we shrugged our shoulders. All we could think of was that Johnson probably wouldn't be any better and maybe worse. We couldn't share the American public's adulation of Kennedy, having lived in Cuba since March 1962 and seen, on television, the miserable *vende-patrias* of the Bay of Pigs invasion who had been sent to Cuba by Kennedy.

We still had fresh in our memories the missile crisis of a year before, which we saw as the American president's responsibility. We knew that a direct invasion of Cuba was being prepared by his government; we knew that missiles were openly displayed on Cuba's highways—no secret, as the media in the U.S. made you believe—to warn him off, and we considered the final outcome a defeat for Kennedy's aggressive plans. The missiles served their purpose in making him promise not to attack Cuba. We also were able to see the Vietnam war from a different perspective, one in which Kennedy didn't exactly appear as a hero or even a humane or progressive figure.

Of course we couldn't know then that he was on the point of changing American foreign policy, preparing for normalizing relations with Cuba and for a pullout from Vietnam. But we did suspect that maybe something of that sort must have caused the CIA to have him assassinated.

—Leonore Veltfort
Oakland, Calif.

SYRIA AND THE PALESTINIANS

NOTHING REVEALS THE HYPOCRISY of the Arab nations' call for Palestinian rights as clearly as Syria's current attacks on Palestinians in Lebanon. Syria is furious at the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) for maintaining independence as a Palestinian organization and for considering negotiating a peace agreement with Israel. To punish these sins, Syria—with the aid of a small group of Palestinians under its control—has bombed Palestinian refugee camps in northern Lebanon, killed hundreds of Palestinians and threatened to bring the bloodshed into the city of Tripoli.

Anyone who protested Israel's military actions in Lebanon or the murders by the Christian Phalangists of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatilla camps has the duty to protest now. Syria must leave the Palestinians alone and agree to withdraw from Lebanon when Israel does. All Americans should insist on an approach to Mideast peace based on genuine respect for the rights of both Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs to personal safety, to nationhood and to security.

—Robert Skelst
President, Chicago Friends of Peace Now

PERSIST

IN MOORHEAD, MINN., I'M RECOVERING from a 10-month campaign for the Sixth Ward city council seat which I won with 54 percent of the vote and 10 out of 13 precincts. (Two years ago I lost the same race by 226 votes—so, you see, persistence pays in the end.)

The Nov. 16 issue reminds us that it is your eighth year of publication and you've moved beyond survival toward improvement and expansion.

Congratulations! It is wonderful and welcome to see a left project that has endured and grown. *ITT* was needed in the late '70s and is even more essential in the '80s. For neighborhood-based activists and city office-holders like myself, *ITT* plays a crucial role in informing us of the bigger picture.

Persist, persist, persist—hang in there through 1984 and beyond!

—Brian Coyle
Moorhead, Minn.

ROGUE PREZ

JOHN JUDIS' ARTICLE ON THE NOV. 12 demonstration on Central America (*ITT*, Nov. 23) brings out not only its inadequacies but his.

Judis' complaint? The small size of the *New York Times* article! Two, not enough Democrats, religious leaders and union leaders. On the unionists, we can agree. He quotes DSA [Democratic Socialists of America], "The complexion of the demonstration is too far left." Judis tries to date it, like *Newsweek*, by referring to its "'60s" aura. But he rejects the best of the "'60s" and embraces its worst. His objections center on the defense of the FSLN/FMLN, by talking about the need to have "broad demands to get out." This is the same position the '60s Socialist Workers Party took against their opponents on the left, who solidarized with the NLF. Things never change, do they?

He liked Peter, Paul and Mary, though. These too-familiar pacifists and their "ambiance" have no appeal to what Judis has called "Joe Six-pack." (Judis seems to be familiar with working people only by hearsay.) The demonstration should have had a decided labor and black focus, going after the rank and file, local union leaders and even national presidents more vigorously.

But the usual sectarianism of the moderates prevented this, at least in one cited instance. These half-hearted opponents of U.S. policy abroad refused to be associated with proletarian leftists and helped split the opposition. No accident during the new Cold War.

Fact is, though, moderation against Reaganism, whether about wage cuts, plant closings or *de facto* union decertifications and union busting or on international issues like Lebanon, Grenada and Nicaragua/El Salvador is more and more merely inadequacy. "Moderates" are being driven into silence or to the right.

The tide is running to the left because Reagan is no moderate. Unless you believe you can stop a rogue elephant with a slap on the wrist. Or counseling.

—Jillayne Holter
Chicago

DISASTERS

IF THE FILM *THE DAY AFTER* SPARKS any discussion among people about nuclear weapons and their use then perhaps it has been beneficial. However, why is it that people feel the desire or need to see portrayed what it would be like if there was a nuclear war? Must we have visual proof of the horror in order to be convinced that using nuclear bombs yields devastating results? If so, why not show the after-effects on real people in real places called Hiroshima and Nagasaki? Television networks have not shown the American people film footage that exists that shows what happened in these cities when actual bombs were dropped on living people. The results, able to be seen on film, are far more disturbing and more convincing than the recent film that has received so much attention. Fictitious disaster shows typically draw more viewers than documentaries. What does this say about what people really want to see?

—Susan Marvin
Portland, Maine

WAVING THE FLAG

JOHN JUDIS, ALTHOUGH SURPRISED by the large turnout in Washington November 12 (*ITT*, Nov. 23) felt the lack of media attention was due to the November 12th Coalition not having a broad enough base. Among other things, he mentioned that we looked like the "militant rump of the old anti-war movement," that there were too many leftist fringe groups, that we displayed "Peace Corps idealism" and that the speakers were not only not big names, but were from the liberation movements. He seemed to snidely criticize the pro-liberation sentiment of the march. I would therefore like to respond to that criticism.

In order to build a solid and long-lasting anti-intervention movement, I believe we must address the issue of "the other side." To white middle-class intellectuals strict non-intervention may make sense, but I don't believe it can be the basis for motivating people into a strong and effective movement.

As I went door-to-door in Urbana, Ill., this past summer and fall as part of the CISPES National Neighborhood Protest, the other side was one of the first issues people brought up. Whether I was knocking on upper, middle or lower class doors, black doors or white doors, people had their opinions about the liberation movements.

One does not have to proclaim that the glorious working classes of the

world should unite to destroy the monster of imperialism, which admittedly is what the Communist/Marxist-Leninist/Revolutionary/proletarian Leagues, Alliances and Pre-parties tend to do.

But if we expect the American people to take us seriously, we have to be honest. Whether we like it or not, non-intervention implies that "the other side" wins in El Salvador and consolidates in Nicaragua. If we do not want to be seen as liars or as fools we have to choose sides.

Like Judis, I was surprised to see so many people in D.C. Unlike him, I saw the "pro-liberation" mood as heartening. I felt I was there with 35,000 deeply committed people. I am certain that those who went home to Oberlin, Ohio, to Davenport, Iowa, and Kalamazoo, Mich., just as those of us who came back to Urbana, Ill., did so with a renewed and deepened commitment, and the certainty that what we are doing is right. And as I sat with the Urbana group between the White House and the Washington Monument, I felt it important to wave a Sandinista flag.

—Catherine Royer
Urbana, Ill.

DSA

JOHN JUDIS' REPORT ON THE FIRST DSA national convention (*ITT*, Oct. 26) was disheartening, and not altogether accurate. Judis observed a sense of frustration in the organization and a lack of clear direction, but failed to place DSA's search for strategy in context. Given the past several years of right-wing gains in both domestic and foreign policy, it should not be surprising that organizations are having difficulty developing a meaningful national strategy. This confusion was also present at this year's Midwest Academy retreat and many other left gatherings. However, DSA's continuing efforts to build strong local organizations and national coalitions indicates an effort to develop creative strategies in the face of great adversity.

Judis makes passing mention of DSA's local activities and avoids much of what makes the organization exciting. In Boston the local has been active in five city elections through its DSPAC, which supports both DSA members and non-members. Recently, the local published an analysis of Boston's power structure, *Who Rules Boston*, which will be sold throughout the city. The local's school attracted more than 100 new students this year and forums and debates on socialist theory and political strategy have attracted hundreds of participants. Boston DSA's members are active as union and community organizers, tenant leaders, elected officials and state policy makers.

As to the role that DSA should play in American politics, we do not perceive the confusion that Judis finds. DSA has never thought of itself as the organization that will lead the democratic left. We are largely an organization of organizers whose purpose is primarily to recruit activists, provide them a left political culture and context, develop a left public policy and help the broad democratic left grow while moving it leftward. If we undertake these activities it hardly leaves us little to do.

On the question of "Greens and Reds," most of us in the organization were not aware of such a division. In fact, many of us joined because the merger of DSOC and NAM combined the most sensible approaches of each. We do not see any contradiction between work in the "new social movements" and the labor movement or the Democratic Party. Nor do we see personal transformation and organizing around issues as mutually exclusive. DSA's ability to combine these approaches is the organization's unique contribution to the left.

—Jerome Rubin
Boston DSA Executive Committee

By David Behrens

FOR GINNY FOAT, CALIFORNIA's embattled feminist, trial by jury is over. Trial by preconception goes on. Officially, the legal action ended in a Louisiana courtroom in mid-November. It was an odd experience—a unique combination of media event and Kafka dream, set in the antique town of Gretna, a small community just across the Mississippi river from New Orleans.

National attention rarely focuses on Gretna. Until Foat came along, the old town's only claim to fame had been as the birthplace of Mel Ott, the great home run hitter of the New York Giants of the '40s.

But even in Gretna, there are some who aren't quite sure who Mel Ott is, and when the Foat trial came to town, only half the potential jurors had ever heard of her. A jury of six men and six women was picked in only three days.

Foat, then president of the California chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW), was arrested in January, accused of a murder that occurred, allegedly, 18 years ago. That was Kafka-esque enough. Accused by her former spouse—John Sidote, convicted felon and a self-admitted alcoholic—was a nightmare come true.

But due process zipped along. Once a jury was tucked away at a local Holiday Inn, a short parade of witnesses marched by in only six days. Then, after less than two hours of not-so-intense deliberation, the jury found Ginny Foat innocent.

Foat's ordeal was suddenly over. The jury did not believe the charge—that she and Sidote had murdered an Argentine businessman named Moises Chayo in 1965, supposedly during a robbery that turned violent.

The verdict was hardly a surprise. When the jury retired, journalists covering the trial polled themselves and 17 of 19 forecast a not guilty verdict.

Jack Sidote's testimony had raised too many doubts in the minds of the jury and everyone else. And Foat's testimony was compelling. During several hours on the witness stand, she recounted how she had been beaten repeatedly by Sidote and, in the classic pattern of the abused spouse, how she blamed herself for his unhappiness, failure, anger, alcoholism and violence.

Once, Foat recalled, a drunken Sidote beat her, called her a whore and threatened to cut off her breasts. Then, tearfully, he asked for forgiveness and said his ghastly story was not true, that he was just afraid of losing her. It was a familiar pattern of violence corroborated by other defense witnesses.

During the recess that afternoon, I talked with a Gretna woman who was a spectator in the small courtroom. "My god, what an experience," the woman said. "I hope she gets off."

And did she think Foat was innocent of the murder charge? The woman paused and said, almost in a whisper, "I guess I still think she did it."

I recalled the exchange later when I returned to New York. People wondered what the trial was *really* like. They had read about the trial or watched the 60-second capsules on television. But what did I think?

Well, I said, when you came down to it, it was a frightening case, being charged with an 18-year-old crime by a drunk. And since almost everyone agreed that Louisiana's case was woeful, you might well wonder why the case ever went this far.

Sidote's description of murder victim Chayo, for instance, bore no relationship to the portrait provided by Chayo's own son, Raymond, a prosecution witness. And other state witnesses provided the jury with a scenario that was also out of sync with Sidote's tale of the murder. And Ginny Foat's story—that Sidote told her they had to get out of town in a hurry, that he had cheated someone in cards and was scared—seemed plausible.

There were also the revenge and immunity issues. In 1970, Foat claimed, Sidote

promised "to put me behind bars for the crimes he committed" if she ever left him. Now, Sidote had been granted full immunity in the Chayo case and, in addition, Louisiana prosecutors had agreed to try to transfer Sidote's parole status to New Orleans from Nevada, where he is serving prison time in another robbery-manslaughter case.

So the trial was scary and none of us in that courtroom would have liked to be in Foat's position—having to prove they did not kill someone, that they had not been somewhere 18 years ago, that they didn't know anything.

It was nerve-jangling, and when Foat told her story, it came out in a barely audible, frail and tearful, little-girl voice, not the voice of the strong-minded Ginny Foat of today, the woman who ran for NOW's national vice-presidency two years ago. So I thought that justice had been done in Louisiana.

Widespread impulse.

Then I discovered something I did not expect. Among the people I talked with, especially among women, there was a widespread impulse—almost a need—to believe Ginny Foat is guilty. It was odd and frightening, an echo from the back of the courtroom: "I guess I still think she did it," the young woman had said.

One of my colleagues, a young woman in her late 20s, said she was glad Foat was free. "But in my gut," she went on, "I think she did it, that she was there that night when Sidote killed the guy."

"Why?" I asked her.

She was not sure. Just a feeling, she said. "It could have happened the way Sidote said it did. And that's the way

things do happen...."

Yes, her feelings were not really supportable, and she thought some more. Then she added: "If a woman loves a guy and depends on him, it's likely to happen that way."

A number of other women seemed to agree with that view, reluctantly. "The violence rubs off on you," a business woman in her 40s said. "Once, it could have happened to me."

But there was a strange lack of sympathy in her voice. Sounds like you're blaming yourself, I suggested. "Maybe," she replied. "Women always feel powerless. So if you're told to get in the car, you do it."

It was ironic. It was a restatement of the feeling of powerlessness feminists such as Foat have always talked of and fought against. In this case, the issue was a gun pointed at the victim.

Odd, I thought, and in the Foat case, even more frightening, since the hard facts of the trial and verdict could be discounted so easily by at least a portion of the public.

A day later, another woman with doubts on her mind was more specific: "I just think that when a battered woman stays with a man for five years, no matter what the reasons, anything is possible," she said. But the woman was not sure why she might believe Sidote and not Foat. He had much to gain by an invented story, she admitted.

Another woman, a fashion writer in her 30s, agreed and made no bones about it. "If you get involved with a turkey like that, and you love the guy, that's the kind of damn thing you do.... It's the classic case of how women get victimized by

guys who are unscrupulous."

She sounded angry at herself and Foat, a dangerous sort of empathy, allowing preconceived notions of guilt to persist, based on no evidence other than an accuser's scenario.

But everyone I talked to cheered the jury's decision to throw out the charges against Foat, murderer or not. And no one seemed surprised, when it was all over, that Foat spoke out, loud and clear. The people of Jefferson Parish, Foat said, ought to take a close look at the kind of cases that its district attorney brings to court.

On the night of her acquittal, talking to the TV cameras for the first time, she stood in the New Orleans office of her talented attorneys, Robert Glass and John Reed, and laid it all out: if she had been a white, middle-class male in political life, Foat said, and had been accused by a spouse with a record of crime and alcoholism, she never would have been indicted.

Maybe, maybe not. But when Foat spoke out, she talked with a voice that was no longer tearful or little girlish. And that too seemed to bother some people with those lingering doubts. "I guess I distrust women who are after power," said one woman, who defined herself as a feminist.

Meanwhile, a book about Ginny Foat has been authorized. Perhaps there will be a TV movie. Perhaps we will all have a chance to come up with our own verdicts. Blaming Ginny Foat seems to fill a particular need in some hearts.

David Behrens is a reporter for Newsday.

Foat was quickly found not guilty, and everyone cheered.

Oddly and frighteningly, some people had an impulse, almost a need, to believe that Ginny Foat was in some way complicit in her ex-husband's crime.



SHANGHAI JOURNAL

Is "cultural contamination" a new turn against the West?

By Henry Rosemont Jr.

FOR THE LAST FEW YEARS the dominant theme in official descriptions of China's domestic policies has been the dual development of the material and non-material aspects of Chinese socialist civilization. The expression *qing shen*, here rendered "non-material," has been consistently translated by the Chinese themselves as "spiritual," a less than optimally felicitous choice, in my opinion.

Apparently the Chinese now agree, for the new common English coinage is "cultural," as in the phrase "cultural contamination," an ambiguous semantic signal that began to be sent out immediately following the second plenary session of the 12th Party Central Committee meetings in mid-October.

This latest movement—I have been corrected when I refer to it as a campaign—is supposed to exorcise socialist ideology of conceptual demons like bourgeois

humanism and alienation. "The first task of the Party consolidation," said Deng Liqun, head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee on October 31, "is to achieve unity of thinking, which calls for clearing away cultural contamination."

I am too much a product of my heritage and philosophical training not to be disheartened by demands for "unity of thinking," all the more so when I recall being heartened earlier when I learned that "The twin policies of 'letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools contend' must be maintained." This latter statement was part of a speech delivered at Beijing University in mid-April, the speaker being the same Deng Liqun, head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee.

No one here seems to be happy about this movement. To some it is a regrettable necessity, because the fear of cultural contamination is real for them, a fear that stems in part from being able to link *The Red Badge of Courage*, *The Godfather* and kiddie porn; all are prod-

ucts of American culture.

This attitude is not without precedent—Chinese of the past had no difficulty in seeing both the New Testament and opium as symbols of the West—and those who make such linkages today are at least

Some Chinese, committed to socialism but also open to Western culture, see the need for one step backward after two steps forward.

consistent, doing the same for their own culture: they move easily from condemning a well-reasoned philosophical essay on alienation by a famous Chinese writer to reporting rumors of a heavy traffic in pornography in certain parts of China (rumors for which I have not yet found any substantiation).

Some others believe the cultural contamination movement portends we-know-not-what on the part of the Party. Hence the watchword is caution, combined with an expressed commitment to "carry out investigation and study at the grassroots level and apply Marxist viewpoints and methods to the practical questions of China's socialist modernization." (Again, Deng Liqun.)

Still others place the movement in a more political light. Deng Xiaoping, twice forced to the sidelines of authority for his "rightist" tendencies in the past, is not going to let the label be affixed again by supporters of the Cultural Revolution he has been moving to replace in Party and government hierarchies. By wielding an anti-bourgeois mentality brush himself, he reduces the changes of being tarred with it.

This perspective is not a cynical one; much more than power politics is involved. To many foreign visitors, China will probably not appear to have opened significantly since 1978, but every Chinese I know believes it has opened a great deal in these years. Indeed, many of them believe the opening has been sufficiently rapid to have raised again the question that has haunted every generation of Chinese for the past century: how, and how much can things Western be taken without our being overwhelmed thereby? Yesterday the gamut ran from bullets to Bibles; today, from deep sea oil rigs to *Deep Throat*.

Thus I am not surprised when Chinese friends—simultaneously open to Western culture and committed to Chinese socialism—say, "One step backward after two forward; we may not be able to keep our footing otherwise." Strong support for Deng's policies, in other words, is coupled with a concern that they not be implemented precipitously, or helter-skelter. The opening must be slow and sure.

But again, no one I know could be said to be enthusiastic about the movement against cultural contamination, and the reason is easy to see: no matter what one's perspective on the movement, the specter of the strongly anti-Western Cultural Revolution still looms large. Anger, hostility, fear and resentment are the most common emotions evoked when the late '60s are recalled. Even a hint that those days could return is demoralizing.

This specter may be the most effective check on the current movement, intensifying into a campaign with attendant personal vilification. No one is unaware of the potential dangers. The ink was barely dry on the first statements against cultural contamination when the official *People's daily* carried an editorial cautioning critics to focus on specific works, not their authors, because "those who wrote such articles are, after all, our comrades."

The younger generation is also sensitive to the issues. The *China Daily* of November 19 printed excerpts from an article in the *China Youth Journal* supporting the drive against cultural contamination. But it included the following section:

Young people should not be reproached because their clothes are smarter, their food a little tastier, their moments of leisure a little happier....

[During the Cultural Revolution] women were not allowed to wear patterned dresses or skirts. Men were forbidden to wear anything except Chinese tunic suits or military uniforms. All that met the eye was blue and grey, drab and lifeless. In recent years, clothes have varied in pattern and style, particularly for the young. This is good. Will it be right to lose this in the struggle against cultural contamination?

In sum, the uniform hope is that the step backward will be a small one, soundly but swiftly taken.

Henry Rosemont Jr. is professor of philosophy at St. Mary's College in Maryland. He is currently teaching at Fudan University in Shanghai.



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1984 CALENDAR GIFTS



Amnesty International 1984

Calendar

Amnesty International, 304 W. 58th St., New York, NY 10019, \$8.00

This is a soft-spoken statement on the need for continued vigilance regarding human rights. Without showing corpses, beatings or blood, the photos on this calendar show what is at stake around the world when economic and political goals gain the upper hand over basic human needs. The people pictured here all shine with dignity and vitality yet the photo's settings let us know that most are potential victims—the proud Guatemalan boy standing tall in his new striped trousers, the serious-faced Namibian infant hanging from his mother's shoulder, the wizened old Polish steelworker squinting into the camera. Succinct quotes are paired with each of the striking photos, and sometimes play off them in interesting ways. For instance Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov's words ("Our only protection is the spotlight of public attention on our fate by friends around the world") appear beneath the image of Salvadoran peasants warily watching a truckload of soldiers pass. And slain Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero's message ("No government can be effective unless it is rooted in the people") accompanies a shot of weary-looking, mostly elderly blacks in Birmingham, Ala. (JW)

Can't Kill the Spirit: 1984 Peace Calendar

The Syracuse Cultural Workers Project, P.O. Box 6367K, Syracuse, NY 13217, \$6.50

Peace issues are interpreted very broadly here, with the commemoration of everything from revolutionary agitator Samuel Adams' birthday (Sept. 22, 1722) to the founding of the first U.S. gay rights organization, the Society for Human Rights, in Chicago (Nov. 10, 1924). The calendar is very informative on recent red-letter days in peace protests and resistance to U.S. entry into World War I. It also notes many milestones in the 19th-century abolition, socialist and women's movements as well as 20th-century fights against imperialism in Africa and Latin America. Nearly all the history recounted is upbeat (from a left point of view), which is unfortunately not the whole story. A record of defeats and failures might also be useful for current activists.

For big brother and the others

The illustrations are generally good, featuring posters (International Women's Day), photos (a dandelion pushing its way up through asphalt), paintings (a commemoration of Zimbabwe's independence) and a patchwork peace quilt. (JW)

Seeing Women: 100 Years of Women's Photography

The Crossing Press Feminist Series, Trumansburg, NY 14886, \$6.95

This calendar would make a terrific photographic exhibit—not to mention an inspired course in women's history. The subjects of the photos alone could teach a lot, but the added biographical statements about each photographer raise a set of questions about the professional possibilities for women throughout the last 100 years. Each month highlights a photograph taken by a woman about women. Perhaps the most provocative one is the earliest of the group. In an 1890 self-portrait of sorts, photographer E. Alice Austen shows herself in bed with two women friends—one who is known to have been her lover. This is an interesting contrast to the most recent photo, taken by Elaine Tomlin—the photographer for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the '60s—of an older black woman at an anti-war demonstration. Other juxtapositions are intriguing as well. Two photos taken at roughly the same time reveal different images: Consuelo Kanaga's 1936 photo for the *New Masses* shows the striking and tortured face of a black woman who has worked under slave-like conditions her whole life and Toni Frissel's 1937 photo shows three women on a bicycle built for three taken for a college fashion spread for *Vogue* magazine. This might be a calendar you'll want to cut and save when the year's over. (EY)

Artists in Solidarity with the People of Central America
Artists Solidarity Calendar, 19 W. 21st St., New York, NY 10010, \$6.95

There is a clear message here—get the U.S. out of Central

America. Through the use of painting, photo montage and collage, these artists—primarily American—get that message across. Produced by various American Latin American solidarity groups, this mini-size wall calendar features one graphic each month and is distinguished by its extremely attractive use of color. The images are a bit uneven: some rely too heavily on the didactic qualities of "political art" but others are stunning. One poster powerfully illustrates the words of an American military advisor in El Salvador. The statement is a bold black against yellow—"The only territory we're interested in is the four inches between the peasants ears." A faded image of a peasant father and daughter against a gray background shows their eyes blotted out with orange. A scale next to them makes clear that the space between their eyes is equal to four inches. This is a sobering yet essential reminder of political priorities for 1984. (EY)

Literary Expectations: 1984 City Lights Calendar

The Subterranean Company, P.O. Box 10233, Eugene, OR 97440, \$6.95

Did you know that Pablo Neruda and Henry David Thoreau share the same birthdate (July 12)? How about Chekhov and Benjamin Franklin (Jan. 17)? Or Tillie Olsen and Zora Neale Hurston (Jan. 7)? Do you care? Well, even



A Guatemalan boy stands proud in the 1984 AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL calendar.

A VIEW FROM THREE MILE ISLAND gives 12 glimpses of life next to the imposing nuke stacks.

if you don't there might still be something illuminating, edifying or perhaps amusing for you in this celebration of women and men of letters. Writers from every continent, era and genre are listed here—everyone from Confucius (511 B.C.) to Alice Walker (1944) and Patti Smith (1946). George Orwell (who else?) graces the cover, followed by a dozen unusual and candid illustrations of writers ranging from Rousseau to Ray Bradbury. We see novelist William Burroughs peering through the underbrush of a Mexican jungle, Franz Kafka hamming it up with his sister and William Morris posing with the Hammersmith branch of the Socialist League. (JW)

Heroines 1984 Calendar

The Crossing Press Feminist Series, Trumansburg, NY 14886, \$6.95

Heroines is a year full of admirable women: Edmonia Lewis—born in 1843 was the first black woman internationally recognized as a sculptor; Janet Guthrie—born 1938 was the first woman to finish the Indy 500; Rosalie Bertell—born 1929 was trained as a nun and scientist and later founded the Ministry of Concern for Public Health. And from the more well-known archives of history, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Margaret Sanger and Golda Meir are part of the list, which totals 12. Each month highlights a different woman with a photographic portrait and a brief and informative biographical sketch. The broad range of women represented were chosen to serve as an inspiration for women today—their lives stand as models of "self-determination, commitment and compassion." (EY)



The 1984 Calendar: An American History

Point Blank Press, P.O. Box 30123, Lansing, MI 48909 \$10.95

This calendar—conceived and produced by two men in Michigan—is probably one of the most ambitious projects ever to be thumbtacked to a kitchen or office wall. Designed to show how in small, often overlooked ways we are creeping toward a mild version of Orwell's 1984, this calendar is jam-packed with data on how some of our freedoms are slipping away in the name of national security, high-technology, convenience and crime control. Taken as a whole, the information collected here is frightening—especially the entries from 1983 that hint at a hidden agenda from the Reagan administration to erode civil liberties. But calendars are not taken as a whole, but rather day by day. A glance at any particular date on this one is more frustrating than illuminat-

ing. A combination of too many abbreviations and not enough background information makes the entries sometimes confusing. Nevertheless, the 1984 Calendar provides heaps of important information, including an opening essay on the decline of privacy by Nat Hentoff. (JW)

The Women Writers Calendar

The Crossing Press, Trumansburg, NY 14886, \$6.95
This well-organized desk calendar is an impressive introduction to a range of women's literary voices—both contemporary and historical. Twelve writers are featured with a striking photo and a brief excerpt from their fiction (Gloria Naylor, Tillie Olsen, Jane Arnold, Anzia Yezierska), poetry (Nellie Wong, Carolyn Forché, Paula Gunn Allen, Toi Derricotte, Muriel Rukeyser), and essays (Susan Griffin, Gertrude Stein, Lorraine Hansberry). Poet Joan Larkin has edited this with an eye for both the diversity and commonalities in women's literature. Lorraine Hansberry sums up this common willful spirit to live—to survive—in a passage from *To Be Young, Gifted and Black*. After describing to a friend the problems of growing up both black and female in a country that respects neither, she unflinchingly defends the survival of the human race: "I think the human race does command its own destiny and that destiny can eventually embrace the stars." (EY)

1984: A View from Three Mile Island

1984 Calendar, 3900 Greenview, Chicago, IL 60613, \$6.95

What's it like to live next to a nuclear power plant? Well, here's *This 1890 photo is one of 12 from the SEEING WOMEN calendar that would make an inspired course in women's history.*

12 glimpses. Each month of the year gives us a view through the eyes of the residents in the vicinity of Three Mile Island. This original and fascinating calendar was independently produced by an artist (Lisa Lewentz) who spent two years of her life going into people's homes and photographing the cooling towers of Three Mile Island as seen through their windows. February takes us into a very traditional and proper living room—except that a giant cooling tower imposes itself in the window framed by lace curtains. September takes us into the kids' bedroom. The toys and stuffed animals sit quietly as though they are being watched by the pair of towers visible in the distance. To top it off, December shows a Christmas tree in all its glory juxtaposed with a nuke tower that stands amid the wintry trees as if it were incognito. (EY)

(Contributors: Jay Walljasper, Emily Young)

By Pat Aufderheide

Terms of Endearment is a world-class weeper—a film that sends viewers out of the theater happily sobbing.

Some films let you cry—this one *makes* you cry. It is ruthless. No one exits without waving a wet handkerchief. By comparison, *Love Story* looks like a dry run. The ultimate in mechanical thrills, *Terms* is to tears what *Raiders of the Lost Ark* was for chills.

Terms is a two-generation story of love and death. Widow Aurora (Shirley MacLaine) and her daughter Emma (Debra Winger) live in tight symbiosis in Houston, the spunky, funky daughter sustaining her uptight mother. Then Emma marries drippy grad student Flap (Jeff Daniels) and has three kids as the supermarket-and-station-wagon wife of a backwater college professor.

Aurora meanwhile practices her hostility on Flap and her emotional dependence on Emma by telephone, while she archly holds crude Texan suitors at bay in her plush, stuffy home. Finally she falls in love with her next-door neighbor (Jack Nicholson), a yahoo astronaut who lives interned with mementos from his glory days. Only when Emma begins to expire from cancer—making everyone realize that her honest vitality has held them all together—do they begin to explore their own possibilities. Emma dies that they may live.

Hollywood movies have always excelled at this kind of family melodrama, but this one is an epitome of the form. It plays dex-

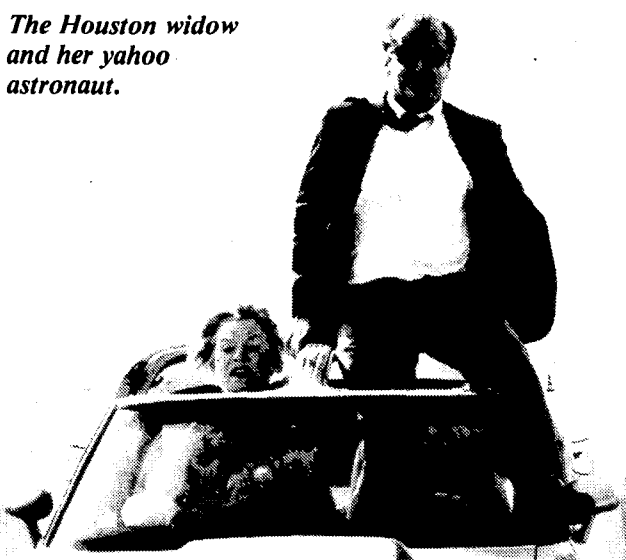
those we most need), our aching regrets and inadequacies. And I do mean "plays," because it acknowledges these needs only to abolish them, soothing us out of any real recognition—much less resolution—of them with platitudes and banalities. It takes our quest for feelings into a never-never land where the personal relationships of the family become the universe, and where women hold the key to everyone's happiness by their ability or inability to express love.

Terms takes place in living rooms, kitchens, porches and lawns, with an occasional trip to the store. Fashions change a bit, but otherwise the situation is American Timeless. Emma, the emotional and visual center of the film, passes through the '60s and '70s as if nothing more momentous happened than changes in checkout counter procedure and baby carriage design. Aurora is as frozen in time in her carefully tended Houston backyard as the astronaut is in his kitchen. Emma's landscape is so limited it would drive any normal woman stir-crazy, but she's happy through it all, and so are we. No wonder—all we can see is her.

In this tiny arena, she is the only person who really stands on her own. Never mind how she got that way. This isn't life, it's the movies. She's a stock figure of art, the earth mother. She loves sex, kids, mom, hubby, her high-school best friend—she just loves life. Hey, she *is* life.

But to the outside world, she seems a harmless, powerless figure—the harassed mom with a philandering husband, no job and a mother who calls her every single day. But she really is all-

The Houston widow and her yahoo astronaut.



ART»ENTERTAINMENT

MOVIES

Get out your handkerchiefs

This kind of movie used to be called a "women's film," a "weepie." It may be no progress on the sex-roles front to discover that the "women's film" is now a unisex phenomenon, that *Terms* is popular as a date movie and that the mostly male reviewing community has fallen over itself praising the movie.

There is something downright

urbanites, *Kramer Vs. Kramer* and *Ordinary People*—a woman who's safely banished from the home.

Paranoid logic of power.

It may seem odd, on the face of it, that a macho, MX-dominated society like ours should spawn such wimpy male characters in popular art, and that women should be made the adored center of a family portrait—only to be blown out of the picture altogether. But just below the surface there's a kind of paranoid logic to it.

If the men see themselves as less vital than the women (and this is a man's movie all the way, with a screenplay by its director James L. Brooks from a novel of the same name by Larry McMurtrey), they also show themselves afraid of those female life-forces. With some reason, too, it appears. In this movie Emma not only strips her husband of his identity as she dies, but also takes the kids away, leaving them with her mom because he's such an incompetent father. No wonder the filmmakers kill her off—it's the only way to stop her.

The fascinating but unanswered question, however, is one that occurs outside the movies as well. Why do the powerful project power on to those they oppress, in a way that turns the oppressed into holders of some darkly magical power? Why, in a male-dominated society, are women installed on pedestals? Why, in a racist one, are blacks and Indians often media-endowed with mysterious earthy spirituality? Why, in an expansionist one, is it places like Cuba and Grenada that are charged with imperial ambitions? Whatever the reason for the projection, it does have some handy uses—such as lifting responsibility for dominance off the shoulders of the dominant and laying it on the dominated.

This story, however, does more than play on a familiar theme in American popular art and modern history. It is a dagger pointed at the softhearted center of middle America, 1983. In fact, it shows signs of having been cooked up in the wake of the Reagan election, when there was much muttering of America

"swinging to the right."

It's not just in the careful choice of a Southern and a Midwestern setting that you find a designed appeal to the heartland, but in specific scenes. Consider the banker's reproving of a grocery clerk who—reasonably enough—asks Emma to pay the amount she owes when Emma comes up short. When the clerk says she doesn't think she was rude, the banker says, "Well, then, you must be from New York!" (The filmmakers clearly think of the heartland as a fly-over zone, though; they don't seem to know that Des Moines, far from being a hick town, is the cultural center of a state with one of the highest literacy rates in the country.)

But city-slicker-baiting is the least of the movie's button-pushing. Emma is a walking checklist of right-to-life-style issues. When her high-school girlfriend takes her to New York for a last fling, she has lunch with a collection of high-fashion career women and it all comes out: how she hates abortions, divorce, working mothers, makeup and—of course—big cities. In the Our Town that Emma inhabits, only selfish women would abandon the chance to have a family in order to go to work. Emma doesn't live in the real world, where 15 percent of all families are headed by women and where more than half of all American women work, most of them whether they want to or not.

The irony is that the filmmakers didn't need the topical cues to make the movie work. The manipulative magic was all in place once Supermom was put in the center of the story—oppressed but revered, overworked and undervalued, and, finally, fulfilled in death.

It works, but I think the terms of *Terms* are harsh in the long run. Those therapeutic sniffles it induces have unpleasant aftereffects. In a world where patriotism is conjured long-distance by stomping into a small Caribbean island, love too is exercised—or perhaps exorcised—by remote control on the wide screen. Like bad alchemy, true emotion is transmuted into false.

It's too bad that so much mov-



Unassuming Emma (left) is a touchstone in the lives of all who know her, including her dependent mother (right) and philandering husband (below right).

trously with authentic needs and real emotions in the audience: our quest for family unity, our fears of personal humiliation and vulnerability in love, our terror of death (not our own but of

powerful, as everyone discovers when, one by one, they straggle to her hospital bed to announce that they will "lose their identity" when she goes—that she is their "touchstone." She stays intimidating to the end, even pre-empting her defensively snotty older son's hostility by telling him it doesn't matter, she loves him no matter what.

Maybe only the movies could hypnotize us into believing a scenario this self-centered. Never has the close-up been used more blatantly, focusing on Winger's eager mouth, liquid eyes, tender reactions, coltish stances. The two-shot action-reaction shot, which limits the emotional landscape to two characters, is used in this film almost like a reflex. What in real life would be a world shrunk down is in this case a microcosm blown up: self-expression becomes as wide as all outdoors.

distasteful in the pathetic quality of the male characters in the film. They are so weak, so shallow, so needy that they seem almost dispensable. It's hard for Aurora to see what Emma can see in Flap, but that's nothing compared to how hard it is for us to figure what Aurora sees in the astronaut, whose paunchy belly matches his flabby, alcohol-pickled mind. But Emma's lover makes the other men in the film look good. John Lithgow plays a Des Moines bank flunky so doggedly dull that even the clichés he mouths take on freshness by contrast.

The men may look and act dorky, but they have one great advantage over the heroine: they outlive her. Here, like in *Love Story*, the heroine expires from cancer. One almost suspects that, in our popular romance, the only good woman is a dead one. Or at least—as in those weepies-for-

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Jazz

Continued from page 16

But we do not talk to the Russians. We might get in trouble.... Well, we did everything we weren't supposed to do: We went to people's houses, we interviewed them, we got into big raps. We were always pushing at the limits of things.

"The first night in Moscow, we went to this guy's apartment and there was this big party there. You're not supposed to do things like that. I went to a guy's house in Riga and later, at the train station, he told us that he'd been reported and there was no way he'd be allowed to travel out of the country again."

Hunger for harmony.

Musically, the trip was a resounding success. Rova, whose challenging saxophone music was too weird to come into the country through the official front door, was regaled in Moscow, Leningrad and Riga. With no general announcement of the concerts allowed, Rova attracted crowds of up to 800 people. From a small core of fans already familiar with Rova's music, word of mouth spread quickly.

"It feels great to go to a place where

people value what you do so much," Ochs recalled. "It's the kind of thing that can spur you on.... Over here, everything is discouraging doing art. Of course, there, they're also being discouraged. They really need to hear this stuff. They're cut off. They don't have a lot of input and they're really hungry for it."

In all three cities, the musicians in Rova interacted with like-minded artists. When the artists got together to talk, they didn't talk politics. "We were being careful about what we talked about," Ochs explained. "There was a little mention of 'It's too bad that our government doesn't let more art in from the West,' but it's not that different from some of us saying, 'Why doesn't our government fund American artists to travel and why don't they make it a little easier for interesting art to tour this country?' The only way that people were political was that sense that they had no interest in becoming bureaucrats in order to be comfortable."

"In fact, most of the artists that we ran into were very adamant that they wanted to stay in Russia and do what they did in the context of *their* culture and speak to the *people* of their culture."

But with each day that they spent in Russia, the artists of the Rova troupe increasingly felt the pressures of the Soviet political system. From a Soviet rock critic, Ochs learned that officials had warned a woman magazine writer, "We recom-

mend to you that you do not go to this concert in Riga because this group is actually a professional group posing as amateurs and they are an embarrassment to Soviet culture."

Intrigue had intensified in Leningrad. In between the time the Contemporary Music Club extended its invitation to Rova and the time of the group's arrival, the Club had been outlawed. An "official" Rova concert had also been planned for Leningrad, but the city government, more conservative than its counterparts in either Moscow or Riga, had canceled it.

So the concert's sponsor went to the Writer's Union, an unofficial organization that meets in the basement of the Dostoevsky Museum. The Writers Union received permission to use the space for a concert.

"Now everybody knew that we were going to show up," Ochs said. "But they would never have given permission for us to play. If it's not spoken of, it's O.K."

In the meantime, a city official had implied to the Friendship Ambassadors' representative that if Rova and the video crew showed up, all their equipment would be seized. The video team had been out on the streets interviewing people, "as if they were in San Francisco," Ochs said, and had been stopped by the police.

At 7:30 that night, with the sun still

high in the sky and the dust from poplar trees blowing through the streets, Rova and friends descended into the basement of the Dostoevsky Museum, passing below a huge, ominous portrait of the Russian writer. Despite all the threatening signs, the concert went off without a hitch.

"It was explained to me," Ochs said of the artistic climate in the USSR, "like there's this ceiling. And the ceiling is the government, the bureaucracy. It's just sitting over you and you're allowed to doodle around underneath it as long as you stay on the ground. But if what you're doing starts to float up toward the ceiling, the ceiling just goes ffwump! and crushes you."

Nonetheless, Ochs returned to the U.S. more committed than ever to encourage artists, writers and musicians to travel to the Soviet Union. "Over the 10 days we found out how important it really is," he emphasized. "It was so meaningful for the people who saw us. It was overwhelming. Sometimes the emotional level was so intense that I had to walk away from it. I couldn't handle it. I almost felt I was going to cry. It didn't make sense that people would be moved this much. It wasn't so much what we were doing, just the fact that we were there at all."

Derk Richardson writes about music for the Bay Area Guardian, where a different version of this article first appeared.

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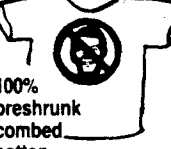
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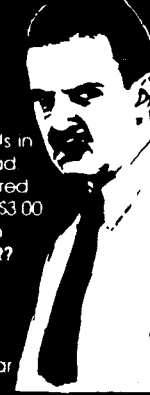
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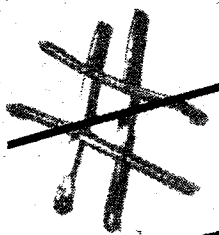
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IN THESE TIMES Classified Advertising, 1300 W. Belmont Ave. Chicago, IL 60657. (312) 472-5700.

By Dork Richardson



MIDNIGHT IN RIGA, LATVIA, USSR. Two men are sitting in the back seat of an automobile, speaking in quiet tones. One is a lanky American with wild hair. The other is an older Russian writer. "I want to interview you," says the Russian. "But not in a hotel room."

"Wow!" thinks the American. "What does he want to talk about?" Long before he had ever imagined traveling to the Soviet Union, the American had read Dostoevsky "and all these romantic novels" and now he found himself in a situation charged with the same dark intensity. He sat with the Russian "in the middle of nowhere in Riga," from midnight to 2:00 a.m., talking into a cassette tape recorder.

The two men exchanged ideas—not secrets about nuclear technology or the flight patterns of spy planes but their thoughts on music, about aesthetics, about jazz.

The Russian was a jazz critic who had lived through the Stalin era and was wary about being heard speaking English with an American. He didn't talk about politics any more than to tell the American, "Music is our only path to the other world."

The American was Larry Ochs, the "O" in Rova Saxophone Quartet, the San Francisco Bay Area group that is a leading exponent of avant garde improvised/compositional music in the U.S. His group was on the last leg of a 10-day, three-city tour of the Soviet Union, and his paranoia level was growing higher every day.

Earlier in the evening before his shadowy encounter with the Russian critic, Ochs had been playing with the other members of Rova—Jon Raskin, Andrew Voight and Bruce Ackley—in a club in Riga. The presence of one of America's foremost new music groups was a major cultural event, and people had journeyed hundreds of miles to hear the concert. But the club was for members only, and although it was full, it could still have held the non-members who waited outside.

"We went through this whole trip of trying to force these people in," Ochs said, "and they had these big guards at the door throwing them back out." The windows of the club were barred but left open, so the people outside gathered at the windows and listened to the music.

The four members of Rova started walking around the audience, literally zig-zagging their music through the crowd. Andrew Voight approached a window and blasted his horn for the outsiders. Nerves were on edge, especially those of the club officials and the members of Sputnik, the Russian organization that facilitates tours within the Soviet Union. "They didn't like this one," Ochs said, "and they were writing on pads. We knew that it was going to get reported."

Critics' choice.

Rova didn't leave for the Soviet Union last June with the intention of testing the limits of the Soviet bureaucracy's tolerance. The group had received a private invitation in 1982 from the Contemporary Music Club of Leningrad. As is common with American "new music" and avant garde jazz artists, Rova is bet-

RIGA

RAG

The Soviet government isn't yet ready for avant-garde jazz. But the Soviet people are.

ter known abroad than at home. In his letter from Leningrad, the Contemporary Music Club's president, Alexander Kan, told Rova the quartet had placed first in the combo category in the annual USSR Jazz Critics' Poll.

Since cultural exchanges between the U.S. and the USSR have been suspended since the 1980 Moscow Olympics boycott, Rova had to seek out its own channels for a tour. The Soviet cultural attache in Washington, D.C., Anatoly Dyuzhev, said that if Rova wanted to be invited by the government, the group should make a tape. "We have to be more sure that it won't spoil the spirit of the people," Dyuzhev said. Otherwise, Rova should go as tourists.

"We wanted to be able to play for a more general audience," Ochs said, "so going as tourists really made sense. We felt that if we went under the auspices of the Russian government we would probably be playing for Communist Party members."

So Rova organized its trip through Friendship Ambassadors, a private group that usually arranges tours for high schools and college choruses and bands. Ochs said, "I really had this notion of bringing like a Noah's Ark of artists. The touring group included two poets, a photographer-filmmaker, a writer, a composer, a recording engineer, video artists documenting the trip and 'two high school kids running around trading things on the black market.'"

The Friendship Ambassadors was excited to have an innovative group like Rova and a video crew as part of their tour. "But to them, what that means," Ochs explained, "is that Americans appear onstage and play music that is good."

Continued on page 15



Larry Ochs in the USSR

George Malting